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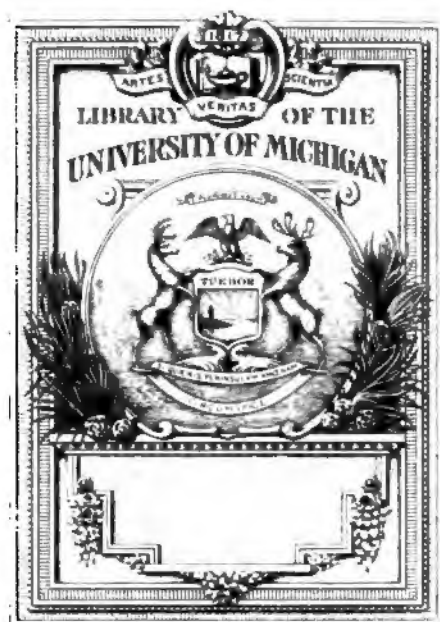
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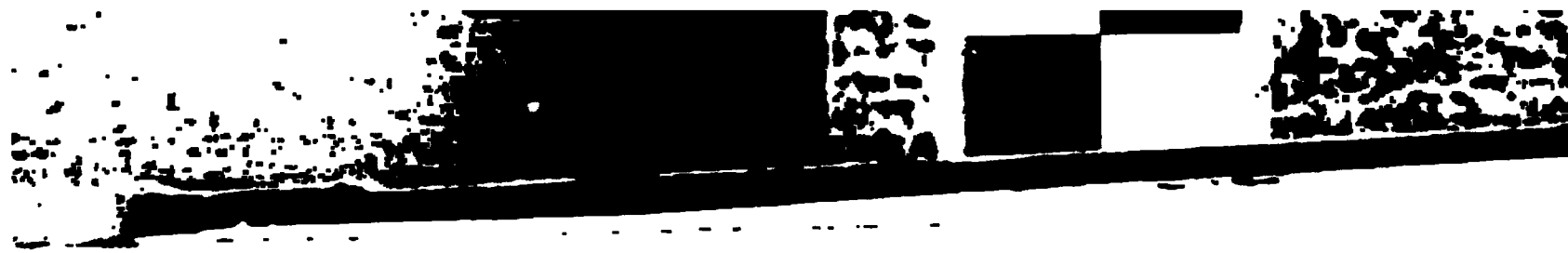
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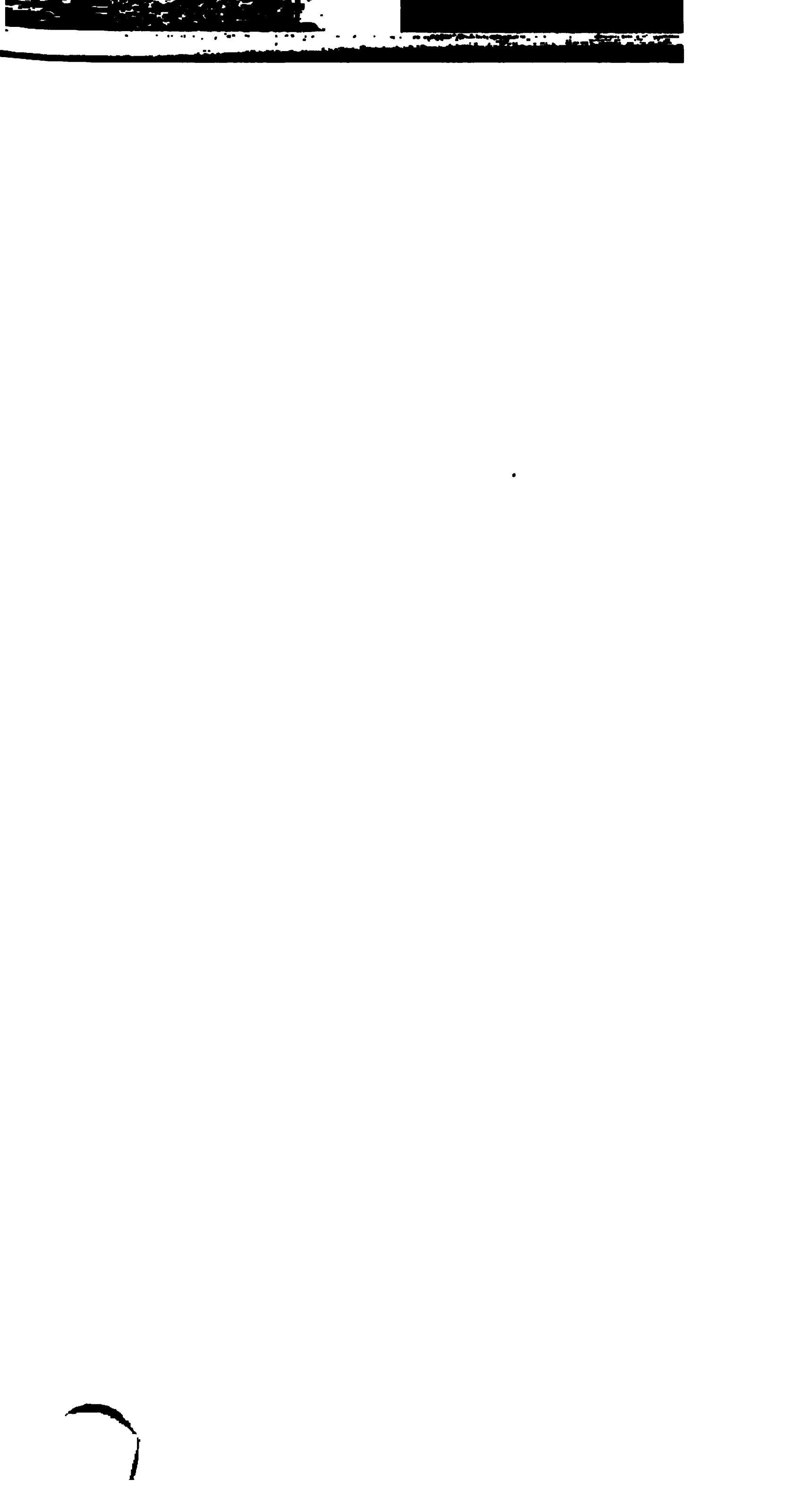
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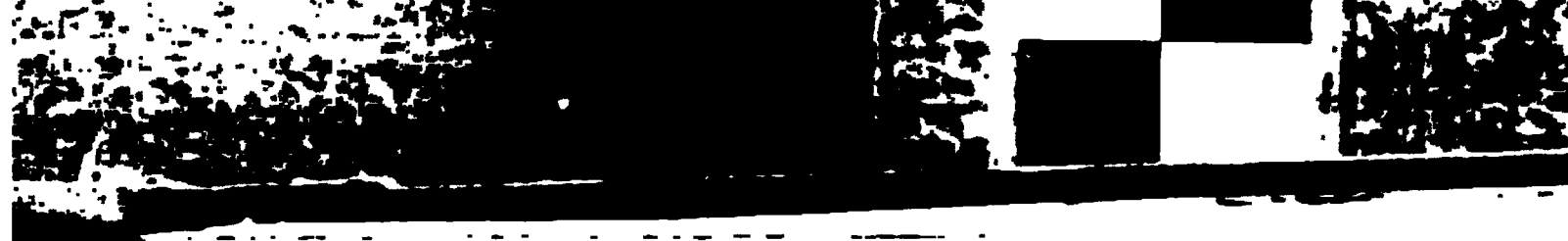
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ENGLISH SEAMEN UNDER THE TUDORS.

VOL. I.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHURCH LANE.

ENGLISH SEAMEN

UNDER

THE TUDORS.

BY

H. R. FOX BOURNE,

AUTHOR OF "A MEMOIR OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY," "ENGLISH MERCHANTS," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

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1868.

PREFACE.

THE great deeds of England's heroes on the sea during the memorable period of Tudor rule have furnished material for many volumes of special biography, and for numberless briefer memoirs in biographical dictionaries, in antiquarian repertories, and in miscellaneous publications. They have also yielded topics for brilliant episodes and instructive generalizations in histories of all sorts. But nowhere, I believe, except in John Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals* (1761), in the *Lives of the British Admirals* begun by Robert Southey and continued by Robert Bell (1833—1840), and in the *Memoirs of the Naval Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign* by Mr. John Barrow (1845), has any complete or consecutive account of these deeds been attempted; and there seems to be fair excuse for supplementing these good books with another and a differently planned work.

I have here attempted to set forth all that is most memorable in the careers of the great leaders of English navigation and English sea-fighting under the Tudors, so far as they had anything to do with naval affairs; but, instead of writing a number of short biographies, it seemed to me better to make the biographical details subordinate to the history of the famous enterprises to which they belong. After a short introductory chapter, and three other chapters which, relating to the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Edward VI., may also be looked upon as introductory to the fuller narrative of English sea-going under Elizabeth, I have therefore so arranged my materials as to present, in each of the following volumes, a separate historical episode. In the first is given, as concisely as seemed possible with due regard to the interest of the subject, the story of the efforts made by Elizabethan navigators to reach the Indies and acquire their wealth by arctic voyaging, and of the efforts issuing therefrom, by which were begun the English colonization of America, and the English mastery of India. In the second, the same memorable half-century has been traversed, chiefly to show the way in which, while trading enterprise and bold love of adventure were being peaceably exercised by the arctic explorers and the founders of our colonial empire, another set of men, or the same men applying themselves to a different

object, went to sea with the determination of wresting the wealth of the Spanish Main and the Southern Seas from the nation which had learnt to think them exclusively her own. The outcome of these efforts was the Great Armada Fight, and the naval supremacy of England over all the nations of Europe.

The authorities for the statements made in the following pages have been carefully indicated in footnotes. Among recent works, I am especially indebted to the many publications of the Hakluyt Society, and to the excellent Calendars of State Papers prepared under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. But it is hardly necessary to state that my largest debts are due to Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and Purchas's *Pilgrims*, and to the journals and other illustrative documents, not included in those voluminous collections, which are preserved in the British Museum Library, the Record Office, and elsewhere. Having a wonderful gathering of personal narratives to work from, I have purposely made free use of the quaint and eloquent words and sentences of the original writers, generally sharers and often leaders in the several enterprises which they describe. My effort has been simply and concisely to relate the story of some great achievements by which the little island of Britain was helped to become a rich and powerful nation. To that end I gave, as far as possible, abstained from interpolating

the narrative with comments and criticisms of my own. History, I venture to think, is always best taught, and its lessons are always made most plain, by straightforward relating of facts; and interpretations and expositions would be especially out of place where the history is so eloquent and the lessons are so transparent as in the case of the heroic undertakings which are the theme of these volumes.

H. R. FOX BOURNE.

4th March, 1868.

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THE RISE OF ENGLISH SEAMANSHIP

UNDER THE EARLIER TUDORS;

AND

THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY
AND COLONIAL ENTERPRISE

UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ENGLISH SEAMEN UNDER THE TUDORS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF TUDOR SEAMANSHIP.

ENGLISH sailors were first great under the Tudors. The fame of their seafaring began in the reign of Henry VII. with the voyages of those Bristol merchants, under the Cabots, who discovered North America. The fame of their sea-fighting began in the reign of Henry VIII. with the employment of a national navy, under Sir Edward Howard, against the French.

But from the time when our Anglo-Saxon forefathers first visited these shores, we may trace, both in sea-fighting and in seafaring, an almost steady growth of skill and courage. The earliest indications of skill and courage belong, indeed, to a period lasting for centuries, perhaps thousands of years, before the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

The very first inhabitants of our island must have been sailors, expert enough to make and guide the crafts which brought them from their older continental

homes. These may have been very rude and very fragile; but, if so, there is evidence that the primitive knowledge was soon improved upon. In various parts of England and Scotland, so deep underground, and so far from the present limits of the sea that long ages must have elapsed since they were used, boats have been discovered, very similar to the canoes still built by the North American Indians and the natives of the Pacific Islands, and adapted for trading and fishing expeditions. Some are only five or six feet long, and hardly able to hold more than a single man; others are five or six times as large, and with room enough for a little company of voyagers. Most of them are shaped, as if by fire, out of solid blocks of oak; a few are made of separate pieces, fastened by wooden pins; and one, considerably larger than the others, and probably of a much later date, has copper instead of wooden nails.*

All but the smallest bear resemblance to the vessels in which the Celts of Gaul, aided, as we are told, by the Celts of Britain, attempted to withstand the conquering force of Julius Cæsar; and Cæsar's honest praise, corroborated by the discoveries of archæologists, gives us a tolerably clear insight into the maritime condition of the Celtic races near the beginning of the Christian era. "In agility and a ready command of oars," he says, "we had the advantage; but in other respects, considering the situation of the coast and the assaults of storms, all things ran very

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. (1836), pp. 257—264; WILSON, *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland* (2nd ed., 1863), vol. i., pp. 43—47, 52—56, 360.

much in their favour. For neither could our ships injure them in their prows, so great was their strength and firmness; nor could we easily throw in our darts, because of their height above us, for which reason also we found it extremely difficult to grapple with the enemy and bring them to close fight. Add to all this, that, when the sea began to rage, and they were forced to submit to the winds, they could both weather the storm better and more securely trust themselves among the shallows, because they feared nothing from the rocks and cliffs upon the ebbing of the tide.”*

These oaken galleys, slow-going and not very manageable, flat-bottomed and with high prows and sterns, supplied with leather sails and iron cables, were the chief causes of trouble to Cæsar in his naval fighting with the Celtic races. The Celts were also famed for the long slender boats, akin to the modern pinnace, provided with light-blue sails and keels of the same colour, so as to be hardly distinguishable, at a little distance, from the sea and sky, in which, during war-time, they darted noiselessly upon the enemy, and glided swiftly from place to place, seeking and giving information.† And for peaceful avocations they had vessels, of size intermediate between the galleys and the boats, made partly of wood and partly of wicker covered with ox-hide, and provided with a few oars and a single sail a-piece, in which merchants conveyed their goods from one home port to another, or across the narrow seas that

* CÆSAR, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. iii., cap. 13.

† FLAVIUS VEGETIUS, *De Re Militari*, lib. iv., cap. 37.

separated Gaul from Britain and Britain from Hibernia.*

The Britons appear to have made no progress in maritime affairs after the Roman conquest. They learnt nothing from their rulers, who, indeed, found it more convenient, for warfare in the northern seas, to copy the Celtic fashions than to use their own style of shipping; and under the weakening influences of a foreign civilization they lost much of their ancient skill. Yet for some centuries it does not seem that Teutonic and Scandinavian shipping was much superior to that of the Celtic nations which it was the chief means of mastering. Braver hearts and stouter hands guided them; but the Norse and Anglo-Saxon boats were as small and as ill-constructed as those of the Britons. In some respects perhaps they were even ruder. When Beowulf, hero of the fine old poem which is the earliest treasure of English literature, heard of the troubles by which Hrothgar, the king of the West Goths, was harassed, and resolved to cross the seas for his assistance,

“ He bade for him a wave-traverser
Good be prepared ;”

but it was only large enough to hold a very few of the brave warriors eager to join in his expedition.

“ With some fifteen
The floating wood he sought.
A water-crafty man,
A warrior, pointed out
The shores and shoals.

* CÆSAR, lib. i., cap. 54; SELDEN, *Mare Clausum* (1635), lib. ii., cap. 2.

Then speedily
The floater was on the waves,
The boat under the mountain.
The ready warriors
On the prow stept.
Into the bark's brow
The warriors bore
Clear-shining weapons,
Sumptuous war-gear,
And on the welcome voyage
The men pressed forth.
Departed then, o'er the wavy sea,
By the wind impelled,
The floater foamy-necked,
To a bird most like.*

Not much larger, it is probable, were the vessels in which the Teutonic conquerors of Britain arrived. The traditions which have assigned a few precise dates to the migration that must have proceeded slowly and steadily through some centuries would lead, if we accept them, to a different conclusion. Hengist and Horsa are said to have come, in 449, with three long ships or keels; Ella and his sons, in 477, with three others; Cerdic and Cynric, in 495, with five; Port and his two sons, in 501, with two; and the leaders of the West Saxons, in 514, with three.† But we have no ground for supposing that any Anglo-Saxon "wave-traverser" before the time of Alfred the Great, whether styled a ship or a keel, a hulk or a boat, was of more than fifty tons' burthen, or had room for more than half a hundred men. All appear to have been built after the same fashion, with planks laid one over the other, and stretching from

* *BEOWULF*, ed. by THORPE (1855), lines 399, 400, 420—442.

† *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by THORPE (1861), *sub annis*.

prow to stern. Both prow and stern rose high above the middle part of the vessel, the former, or sometimes both, being adorned with a rude figure-head, and the latter being provided with a long broad oar, to be used by the captain or pilot in directing the course of the voyage. Rowers were placed at the sides, and, with a favourable wind, the progress was greatly aided by a large square sail suspended from a yard at the top of a single slender mast, and fastened at the bottom to the edges of the vessel. The keels, apparently, were longer and narrower, lighter and swifter than the ships, while the hulks were broader and more compact, being intended for the transport of stores and merchandize, and the boats were adapted for river-transit and passage between the larger crafts. We find no mention, however, of vessels too large to be rowed by one or two dozen men, or to be pushed by hand from the shore when they were required for use.*

It was in vessels of this sort that the people whom

* STRUTT, *Chronicle of England* (1777), vol. i., p. 337; NICOLAS, *History of the Royal Navy* (1847), vol. i., pp. 8—11. "A very interesting account," says the latter authority, "is given by the northern historians of the Danish fleets which so frequently harassed this country. The crews obeyed a single chief, whom they styled their king, and who also commanded them on land; who was always the bravest of the brave; who never slept beneath a rafted roof, nor ever drained the bowl by a sheltered hearth—a glowing picture of their wild and predatory habits. To these qualities a celebrated sea-chieftain, called Olaf, added extraordinary eloquence and great personal strength and agility. He was second to none as a swimmer, could walk upon the oars of his vessel while they were in motion, could throw three darts into the air at the same time and catch two of them alternately, and could, moreover, hurl a lance with each hand; but he was impetuous, cruel, and revengeful, and 'prompt to dare and do.'"

we call Anglo-Saxons came to our shores during the fourth and fifth centuries; and the vessels in which they were attacked, during the ninth and tenth centuries, by their rougher kinsmen, known as Danes, were of the same description.* King Alfred has the credit of effecting the first great improvement in English shipping. In 897, says the contemporary historian, he caused long ships to be built. "They were twice as long as the others. Some had sixty oars, some had more. They were swifter, steadier, and higher than the rest, shapen neither like the Frisian nor like the Danish, but as seemed to him most useful."† But even the new large ships were so small and light that they could, at high tide, sail in water which, when it ebbed, left them dry upon the shore; and from the frequent records of their foundering, we must infer that they were neither very well managed nor very manageable.‡

Alfred's zeal in naval matters was inherited by several of his successors. Athelstan not only obtained such a thorough victory over the Danes, in 937, that they gave no further trouble to the English for half a century, but he was able, in 933, to invade Scotland by sea, and, in 939, to send a fleet to the King of France for the purpose of resisting his rebellious nobles and the

* A boat, supposed to have been used by the Danish or Norman freebooters in France—"heavy, stout, and clumsy, the keel hollowed out of a single piece of timber"—was found in the valley of the Seine, near Paris, in 1806.—PALGRAVE, *History of Normandy and England*, vol. i., pp. 615, 747.

† *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *sub anno*.

‡ *Ibid.*

King of Germany. Yet more famous was Athelstan's son Edgar, of whom it is said that, in 973, "he led all his ship-forces to Chester, and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land."* To that fact the mediæval chroniclers added the fiction of his having been rowed up the Dee by the Kings of Scotland, Cumberland, Anglesea, Wales, Galloway, and Westmoreland; and out of both fact and fiction have been constructed wonderful reports of Edgar's maritime greatness. But no fables were needed to exalt his fame as a naval reformer.

" Was no fleet so insolent,
 No host so strong,
 That in the Angle race
 Took from him aught
 The while this noble King
 Ruled in the royal seat." †

Even Ethelred the Unready has a place in naval history. Though he was unable to put it to good use, he collected, in 1009, a fleet of nearly eight hundred vessels, "so many as never before had been among the English nation in any king's days."‡ The levying of ship-money by which this was effected, being continued by Canute and his sons, enabled them to make further improvement in English shipping, and to leave it in a state from which there appears to have been little fresh advance for nearly a century and a half.

The ship-money was abolished by Edward the Confessor; but when William the Norman conquered Eng-

* *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

land, he found and kept in force certain provisions for naval service. The burgesses of Dover, for instance, were bound to provide twenty ships, carrying twenty-one men each, for fifteen days each year, in return for exemption from sac and soc and from toll throughout all England; and by the people of Sandwich similar services were rendered in return for similar privileges. Every time that the King sent ships to sea, the burgesses of Lewes had to contribute twenty shillings towards the wages of the crews. Warwick had to find four seamen, or pay four pounds in lieu, and twenty burgesses of Oxford had to attend the King on each expedition, or, in default, twenty pounds were to be paid for substitutes. Lands were held in the hundred of Maldon, in Essex, on agreement to supply wood for building the King's ships, and Gloucester had to furnish iron for nails to be used in making the same.* Of like sort were many other miscellaneous imposts, some of which continue, in modified forms, to the present day, the most important of all being the scheme of service by which the Cinque Ports were enabled to take an influential part in English maritime history throughout the middle ages.

The origin of these Cinque Ports is referred to a period long antecedent to the Norman Conquest. The Romans are supposed to have established five fortresses under a Comes Littoris Saxonici—Regulbium, near the site of Reculvers in Thanet; Rutupiaë, now

* *Domesday Book*, *passim*; MACPHERSON, *Annals of Commerce* (1805), vol. i., pp. 293—297; NICOLAS, vol. i., pp. 24, 25.

Richborough ; Dubræ, now Dover ; Portus Lemanus, now the present site of Hythe ; and Anderida, not far from modern Hastings ; and out of the privileges enjoyed by these fortresses, it has been conjectured, arose the charter which Edward the Confessor is reported to have granted to five associated ports,—Romney, in lieu of Regulbium ; Sandwich, for Rutupiæ ; Dover ; Hythe, for Portus Lemanus ; and Hastings, for Anderida. This charter, however, if ever conferred, has been lost ; and all we know is that William the Conqueror found arrangements existing for the naval service just referred to, and that soon after the Norman Conquest there was organized or reorganized an association of the five towns of Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, and Hastings, helping one another doubtless in commercial enterprises and in protecting the interests of commerce, and aiding the King with a small naval force, to be prepared and maintained entirely at their own expense, and used as he chose during fifteen days of each year, exclusive of the time required for equipment, for transmission to the place appointed, and for returning home after their discharge. For any longer period that was found necessary, the ships and their crews were to be at the King's bidding, but he was to maintain them at his own cost. In this way the State had at command a fleet of fifty-seven ships, with aggregate crews of eleven hundred and ninety-seven persons, a hundred and fourteen being officers paid at the rate of 6*d.* per day, and the rest being entitled to a daily pay of 3*d.* The entire annual cost to the Cinque Ports was estimated at

983*l.* 5*s.*, which must be multiplied by nine or ten for the difference in value of currency between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries. At a later date the number of ships was slightly augmented, and at a still later date, when much larger and costlier vessels began to be used, only two, three, or four were exacted; but the entire expense of the service in men and money was steadily kept on a par with that of the original institution. The Cinque Ports, however, in course of time, came to include a great many more than five separate towns. Partly because the original five were hardly able to bear the burthen put upon them, and partly because others were eager to share the privileges accorded for the service, several other towns were gradually incorporated with each of the principal ones. Winchelsea, Rye, Pevensey, and others, for instance, were added to Hastings; Folkestone, Faversham, and Margate to Dover; Reculver, Sarre, Storey, and Deal, to Sandwich.*

In this way the Plantagenet sovereigns were provided with a compact and well-manned fleet, strong enough by itself for their minor naval wars, and able at any time to be the nucleus of a larger gathering of fighting ships brought together, in time of need, by special imposts from all the leading ports and inland towns of England, when merchant ships were hastily adapted for warlike use. A few other vessels, known as the King's galleys, appear

* JEAKE, *Charters of the Cinque Ports and their Members*; HOLLOWAY, *History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town and Port of Rye, with Incidental Notices of the Cinque Ports* (1847), pp. 66—68.

to have been maintained exclusively at the cost and for the service of the Crown ; and they, of course, were constructed specially for fighting purposes. But there seems to have been no very great difference between ships of war and ships of trade. The stoutest of the King's galleys had but a single mast and a single sail, and the smallest of the merchantmen, generally employed in transporting troops and stores, were large enough to carry eight or ten horses amidships, and to hold eighty or more tuns of wine. Ships of all sorts, whether built for the sovereign or prepared for private use, were held to be, in theory and fact, the property of the Crown. The King could send any wherever he chose, and, in the most summary manner, could forbid their going to any objectionable place, or even going out of port at all. "Know for certain," we read in a mandate of King John's, addressed, in 1208, to the mariners of Wales, prohibiting their departure from their homes until they were otherwise instructed, "that if ye act contrary to this, we will cause you and the masters of your vessels to be hanged, and all your goods to be seized for our use." Hundreds of similar orders were issued during the middle ages, the object being that the King's agents might choose for impressment, both the fittest vessels for transport or fighting purposes, and the ablest seamen to be employed in the royal galleys.

Thereby, of course, commerce suffered considerably ; but it was chiefly by the pursuit of commerce that English shipping prospered under the Plantagenets. In each generation there was increase of the number of

tough little vessels, constructed for trading round the coast or across the narrow seas, to Ireland on the one side and to France and Germany on the other; though able now and then, and under adventurous captains, to go as far northward as Denmark and even Iceland, or in a southern direction towards Spain and Italy. And if, in time of war, the merchants' ships were liable to seizure for public use, trade was helped in peaceful seasons by the employment of the King's galleys and the Cinque Ports' vessels either in actual transport of goods or in the protection of smaller craft from the native and foreign pirates who infested the seas. In peace time and in war time the English sailor of the middle ages had bold and hardy work to do, adding as much in those days as his successors have done in later times to the bold and hardy character of the whole nation of Englishmen. We may infer the rough way of life and sturdy bearing of the whole class from Chaucer's description of the typical seaman, who went on pilgrimage to Canterbury in company with priests, monks, friars, nuns, knights, yeomen, clerks, and merchants:—

“A schipman was ther, wonyng fer by weste;
For ought I woot he was of Dertemouthe.
He rood upon a rouncy, as he couthe,
All in a gowne of faldyng to the kne.
A dagger hangyng on a laas hadde he
Aboute his nekke under his arm adoun.
The hoote somer had maad his hew al broun,
And certeinly he was a good felawe.
Ful many a draught of wyn he hadde drawe
From Burdeux-ward, whil that the chapmen sleep.
Of nyce conscience took he no kepe.

If that he foughte, and hadde the heigher hand,
By water he sente hem hoom to every land.
But of his craft, to rikne wel the tydes,
His stremes and his dangers him bisides,
His herbergh and his mone, his lode-menage,
Ther was non such from Hulle to Cartage.
Hardy he was, and wys to undertake;
With many a tempest hadde his berd ben schake.
He knew wel alle the havenes, as thei were,
From Gotland to the Cape of Fynestere,
And every cryk in Bretagne and in Spayne;
His barge yclepud was the *Magdelayne*."

England had thousands of such "good fellows" in the generations before and after the time of Chaucer, able and ready to do anything and go anywhere, working best and most to the prosperity of their country when following peaceful avocations, but adding most to its fame among the nations of Europe when summoned by their sovereigns to carry out their warlike projects.

Sailors had not much to do in the way of fighting, however, for more than a century after the Norman Conquest. Ships were used by the Anglo-Norman kings almost exclusively in transporting them and their retinues, large and small, to and from their continental possessions. Some vessels, called "piratæ," were chartered by William Rufus, in the early part of his reign, for opposing his elder brother, Duke Robert, and we are told that the English captured many of the Norman vessels, and slew most of their crews. In 1091 William also raised a fleet, with the intention of punishing Malcolm, King of Scotland, for his invasion of England; but the greater part of the ships were wrecked in passage, and the expedition was thus brought to an

end; and, with the exception of preparations made by Henry I., soon after his accession in 1101, against Duke Robert, which came to nothing, there was not much other thought of sea-fighting for many years. Henry II. did a little for the extension of the English navy. Threatened, in 1167, with an invasion by the Counts of Boulogne and Flanders, supported by a fleet of six hundred vessels, he caused a sufficient force to be collected for defence of the coast, and took other measures for maintaining the honour of England: and in 1171 he went to complete the conquest of Ireland with four hundred large ships. These and some minor occupations make up the sum of our naval history till near the close of the twelfth century.

A period of more important work was inaugurated by Richard I. Of this his crusading zeal was the immediate cause. In April, 1190, in obedience to his orders, a fleet of more than a hundred vessels quitted Dartmouth for the Holy Land, a longer and more perilous voyage than appears ever before to have been undertaken by Englishmen; and the story of its progress gives interesting evidence of the character and capabilities of English shipping in those days. Four months, including the time necessary to repair the damage caused by a violent storm in the Bay of Biscay, were spent in sailing to Marseilles, and another month was required for the voyage to Messina, where King Philip of France awaited the coming of his brother crusader, Richard of England. "As soon as the people heard of his arrival," says an eye-witness, "they rushed in

crowds to the shore. In the distance they beheld the sea covered with countless galleys, and the noise of trumpets from afar, with the sharper and shriller clarion blasts, resounded in their ears. Then they saw the galleys rowing in order nearer to the land, adorned and furnished with all manner of arms, numberless pennons and ensigns floating in the wind, and the beaks of the vessels ornamented with various devices, while glittering shields were ranged along the prows. The sea boiled, as it were, with the multitude of the rowers, and the roar of their trumpets was deafening. Great indeed was the joy of the spectators when their own magnificent King, attended by a crowd of mariners, appeared on a prow more beautiful and higher than the others, and, landing, showed himself, elegantly adorned, to the multitude on the shore.”* At Messina, Richard, in company with Philip, halted for the winter, the time being considered unseasonable for further voyaging, and also being needed for retrieving the losses incident to the five months’ tedious passage from Dartmouth. In the interval, moreover, a smaller fleet arrived from England, and other vessels were chartered in the Mediterranean, so that the whole force which put to sea in April, 1191, numbered about two hundred sail. At the end of two months, after many delays, the fleet reached Acre, there to wait for a year, while its crews followed Richard in his famous crusading enterprises on land.†

* GEOFFREY DE VINSANF, lib. ii.

† Richard was a year too late to join in the most important naval work of this crusade; but as one of its engagements, occurring in the

The only important crusading enterprise by sea occurred just before the arrival at Acre; and then

spring of 1190, affords the best illustration of the sea-fights of the period, Geoffrey de Vinsauf's graphic account of it is here repeated:—
“The people of Acre ill brooked their loss of liberty upon the sea, and resolved to try what they could do in a naval battle. Therefore they brought out their galleys, two by two, and in orderly array rowed into the open sea. Then our men, preparing to receive them, hastened to the encounter. When they had advanced on both sides, our ships were arranged in a curved line, so that if the enemy attempted to break through, they might be enclosed and defeated. The ends of the line being drawn out in a sort of crescent, the stronger were placed in front, so that a sharper onset might be made by us, and the enemy be promptly checked. In the upper tiers, the shields interlaced were placed circularly; and the rowers sat close together, that those placed above might have freer scope. The sea, as if fated to receive the battle, became calm; and thus neither the blow of the warrior nor the stroke of the rower was impeded by the waves. Advancing nearer to each other, the trumpets sounded on both sides, and mingled their dread clangour. First they contended with missiles; but our men, seeking the aid of God, very earnestly plied their oars, and soon pierced the enemy's ships with the beaks of their own. Then the battle became general. The oars were entangled. The men fought hand to hand. They grappled the ships with alternate casts, and burnt the decks with the burning oil commonly called Greek fire. This fire, with a deadly stench and livid flames, consumes flint and iron, and, being unquenchable by water, can only be extinguished by sand or vinegar. What is more direful than a naval conflict? Where else does so various a fate involve the combatants? Either they are burnt or writhe in the flames, or they are wrecked and swallowed by the waves, or they are wounded and perish by arms! One galley there was that, through the rashness of its men, turned its side close to the enemy; and thus, ignited by the fire thrown on board, admitted the Turks, who rushed in on all parts. The rowers, seized with terror, leapt into the sea. None but a few soldiers, who, from the weight of their arms and their ignorance of swimming, were forced to remain, attempted to fight. By the Lord's help, however, the few overcame the many, and the half-burnt ship was retaken from the beaten foe. But another was boarded by the enemy, who had gained the upper deck, having driven off its defenders, and those could do nothing but try to escape by the aid of the rowers. A wonderful, truly, and a piteous struggle! The oars being plied partly by the

Richard's large fleet had the inglorious satisfaction of conquering a single Saracen vessel. This vessel, however, if the contemporary accounts are true, was of unparalleled size and strength : " a marvellous ship, than which, except Noah's ship, none greater was ever read of." She had three tall masts, and contained a vast number of soldiers and sailors—fifteen hundred, according to one historian ; three thousand, according to another—going to the relief of Acre, with a large supply of wealth and ammunition ; among the rest, a hundred camel-loads of arms, slings, darts, and arrows, a great quantity of Greek fire in bottles, and two hundred machines, known as serpents, for discharging flame and fire. King Richard, as soon as he came near enough to this sea-monster to discover her character, gave orders for her capture. But that was not easy. The English galleys sailed round and round the enemy, but could find no suitable point of attack, every part being most stoutly built, and carefully defended by fierce soldiers, whose darts, hurled from the high bulwarks, came with terrible effect upon the assailants down below. In vain

Turks and partly by the Christians, the galley was urged hither and thither. Yet here, also, our men prevailed ; and the enemy, rowing above, were thrust off by the Christians, and made to yield. In this sea-fight the adverse side lost both a galley and a galliass, with their crews ; while our men, unhurt and rejoicing, obtained a glorious success. Drawing the enemy's galley to shore, they left it to be destroyed by any who passed. Then our women seized and dragged the Turks by their hair, and beheaded them, treating them with every indignity, and savagely stabbing them ; and the weaker their hands, so much the more protracted were the pains of death to the vanquished, for they cut off their heads, not with swords, but with knives."

certain skilful swimmers and divers made their way to the rudder and cables, and, by tying ropes to them, sought to make the great ship unmanageable. In vain certain brave warriors scaled the sides, and attempted to get possession of the decks by hand-to-hand combat. But at last King Richard hit upon the expedient of putting some scores of his galleys in orderly array, and causing them over and over again to row dead against the vessel, with their iron beaks pointed at her wooden sides. In that way a sufficient number of leaks were sprung to sink the clumsy enemy, and the English had just time to secure the treasures and capture as many Turks as they needed to employ in making and working the strange instruments, or were likely to turn to profit by retaining as prisoners to be ransomed, before they rowed away from the turmoil of waters that was caused by her sinking.*

Neither in sea-going nor in sea-fighting does Richard I.'s famous fleet appear in a very favourable light. But the English navy was then still in its infancy, and frequent work brought great increase of skill in the ensuing centuries. King John, praiseworthy for little else in English history, did good service by turning to account the enterprise occasioned by his brother's crusading zeal, itself necessarily short-lived, in establishing an efficient maritime force for fighting battles nearer home. He placed on an improved footing the old ar-

* GEOFFREY DE VINSauf, lib. ii., cap. 41; RICHARD OF DEVIZES, sect. 49; ROGER OF WENDOVER (ed. 1849), vol. ii., p. 93; PETER OF LANGTOFT's *Chronicle*.

rangements for naval service from the Cinque Ports. He established a dockyard at Portsmouth, and set the fashion of using it for the construction of stout ships, exclusively the property of the Crown. He paid especial attention to the economical and satisfactory fitting-out of all ships intended for warlike purposes, saw that they were efficiently manned, and put wise and brave officers in charge of them.

The greatest of these officers was Hubert de Burgh, whom King John made Justiciary of England in 1215. He was also for many years Constable of Dover Castle. His best work was done under the ungracious rule of Henry III.'s governors. Hearing, in August, 1217, that a French fleet of eighty great ships, with a large number of galleys and smaller vessels, was on its way for the invasion of England, he promptly summoned a council to consider how the attack was to be resisted. "If these people land," he is reported to have said, "England is lost. Let us therefore boldly meet them, and God will be with us." The other members of the council were not so zealous. "We are not sea-soldiers, or pirates, or fishermen," they exclaimed; "go *thou* and die!" To do that for his country, if need were, De Burgh was resolved. Without an hour's delay he ordered out sixteen Cinque Ports' galleys, large and well manned, which happened to be then at Dover, with about twenty smaller ships, and placed himself at the head of the little armament. He met the invading fleet off the North Foreland, and, having the wind in his favour, suddenly bore down upon its rear, caused grapnels to be thrown into

the ships that were first approached, and so made it impossible for them to escape. The French, disconcerted by this bold manœuvre, were soon overcome by the vigorous fighting of their opponents. The English sailors, having no arms to use, threw unslaked lime into the air, that it might be blown by the wind into the enemy's eyes, and thus might blind them. Others deftly cut the rigging and halyards, and so caused the sails to fall down "like a net upon ensnared small birds." The cross-bowmen and archers plied their weapons with deadly effect; and before long more than half of the French ships were captured. Fifteen managed to escape, and about as many were sunk during the contest. By his promptitude and tact and valour, Hubert de Burgh secured a victory unparalleled in the previous naval history of England.*

It had many parallels, however, in the ensuing generations. The long and wasteful wars with France and Scotland, that lasted, with few intermissions, from Edward I.'s time down to Henry V.'s, afforded many opportunities for naval prowess, and resulted in the establishment, among all the European nations, of that reputation for good and brave seamanship which has been maintained by England down to the present day. The chief details of these engagements, and the general purport of the whole, are familiar matters of history, and therefore need not here be dwelt upon. So thoroughly were patriotic Englishmen, as early as

* MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major* (ed. 1644), p. 206; ROGER OF WENDOVER, vol. iv., p. 28.

the fifteenth century, impressed with the necessity of good seamanship to the well-being of the nation, that the prospect of naval degradation was regarded by them as the greatest of all impending evils. "Our enemies laugh at us," exclaimed one historian in 1441, when the disasters of the Wars of the Roses were beginning to be felt, "and say, 'Take the ship off from your precious money, and stamp a sheep upon it, showing thereby your own cowardice.' We, who used to be the conquerors of all nations, are now being conquered by all nations! The men of old used to call the sea 'the wall of England;' and what think you that our enemies, now that they are upon the wall, will do to the inhabitants who are not ready to meet them? Just because this matter has been so long neglected is it that our ships are already so scanty, our sailors few, and those few unskilled in seamanship from want of exercise. May the Lord take away this reproach and rouse a spirit of bravery in our nation!"*

In due time the spirit of bravery was revived, to be displayed, however, hardly any more in renewal of the ambitious projects for continental conquest in which the patriots of those times thought they saw the chief and best way of national aggrandisement, but generally in more peaceful and honourable ways. The warlike requirements of England continued to be, as they had been from the first, the leading motive to its naval advancement; but we shall see that, among the seamen of the Tudor period, fighting for fighting's sake was at any

* CAPGRAVE, *De Illustribus Henricis*.

rate only a secondary inducement, and that if fighting came it was mainly in consequence of the growth of maritime enterprise which has issued in the establishment of our vast colonial empire and the independent empires that have sprung and are springing therefrom all contributing in a very notable way to the growth in wealth and influence and character of England itself.*

* A very full and sufficient account of the earlier maritime progress of England, to which I am indebted for help in writing the foregoing pages, is to be found in the *History of the Royal Navy*, by SIR NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS (1847), of which the only two volumes published treat of the period from Julius Cæsar's landing to the death of Henry V.

CHAPTER II.

THE VOYAGES OF THE CABOTS.

[1485—1517.]

THE traditions of English effort at maritime discovery before the time of Henry VII. are few and unimportant. For the fable about Saint Brendan, the holy Irish abbot, who in the sixth century is reported to have sailed out, with twelve chosen monks, into the unknown western sea, and, after long and tedious voyaging, to have reached a land of wondrous beauty and luxuriance, where the sun never set and winter never came;* and for the fable about Madoc, the Welsh chieftain, who in the twelfth century is said to have crossed the Atlantic and founded a Celtic colony somewhere south of the

* "So cler and so light hit was, that joye ther was ynough ;
 Treon [trees] ther wer ful of frut, wel thikke on everech bough ;
 Thikke hit was biset of treon, and the treon thicke bere ;
 Th' applen were ripe ynough, right as it harvest were.
 Fourti dayes aboute this lond hi him wende [they travelled] ;
 Hi ne mighte fynd in non half of this lond non ende.
 Hit was evere more dai ; hi ne fonde nevere nyght :
 Hi ne wende fynde in no stede so moch cler light.
 The eir was evere in o [one] stat, nother hot ne cold.
 Bote the joye that hi fonde ne mai nevere beo i told."

Saint Brendan, a Mediæval Legend of the Sea, ed. by WRIGHT
 (1844), for the Percy Society.

Missouri, there may have been some foundations in fact; and perhaps there is truth in the report that, near the middle of the fourteenth century, Madeira was discovered by a native of Gloucestershire named Macham.* But no authentic and persistent attempt at Atlantic voyaging and research was made until the marvellous accounts of Cathayan wealth and splendour, brought home by overland travellers in the east, stirred up the cupidity and the adventurous disposition first of Spaniards and Portuguese and then of Englishmen.

Cathay, or Khitai, is now known to have been a district to the north-east of China, peopled by an enterprising people who, alternately at feud and in alliance with the Tartars and the Chinese, were in due time the chief instruments of the Tartar conquest of the whole vast country. Some of them were Christians, and

* "About this time (1344) the island of Madeira was discovered by an Englishman, called Macham, who, sailing out of England into Spain, with a woman of his, was driven out of his direct course by a tempest, and arrived in that island, and cast his anchor in the haven which is now called Machin, after the name of Macham. And because his lover was then sea-sick, he there went on land with some of his company, and in the mean time his ship weighed and put to sea, leaving him there. Whereupon his lover, for thought, died. Macham, who greatly loved her, built in the island a chapel or hermitage to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus Chapel, and wrote or graved upon the stone of her tomb his name and hers, and the occasion whereupon they arrived there. After this he made himself a boat, all of a tree, the trees being there of a great compass about, and went to sea in it with those men of his company that were left with him, and fell in with the coast of Africa without sail or oar; and the Moors among whom he came took it for a miracle, and presented him unto the king of that country, and that king also admiring the accident, sent him and his company unto the king of Castille."—GALVANO, *Discoveries of the World*, ed. for the Hakluyt Society, by Vice-Admiral BETHUNE (1862), pp. 58, 59.

among them were a few Franciscan friars and missionaries, whose letters and personal reports to their friends at home, beginning about the middle of the thirteenth century, gave great incitement to the curiosity of other friars and travellers. "One day," says one of them, Rubruquis, a Fleming, writing in 1255, "there sat with me a certain priest from Cathay, clothed in a crimson stuff of a splendid colour, so I asked him whence that colour was got. In reply he told me that in the eastern parts of Cathay there are lofty rocks inhabited by certain creatures which have the human form in every respect, except that they cannot bend their knees, but get along by some kind of a jumping motion. They are only a cubit high, and are hairy all over, and dwell in inaccessible holes in the rock. But the huntsmen bring beer with them, which they know how to brew very strong, and make holes in the rocks like cups, which they fill with beer. Then the huntsmen hide themselves, and the creatures come out of their holes and taste the drink that has been set for them, and call out 'Chin chin!'—and from this cry they get their name; for they are called Chinchin. Presently they gather in great numbers and drink up the beer, and get tipsy and fall asleep. So the huntsmen come and catch them sleeping, and bind them hand and foot, and open a vein in the neck of the creatures, and, after taking three or four drops of blood, let them go. And it is that blood, he assured me, that gives this most precious dye." That story, well fitted to arouse the interest of wonder-loving Europeans, the good friar evidently be-

lieved. Other tales, about which he himself was sceptical, found ready credence as they passed from mouth to ear among the people of the west. "They also used to tell as a fact, though I don't believe a word of it," he says, "that there is a certain province on the other side of Cathay, and, whatever a man's age be when he enters that province, he never gets any older."*

The friar's letter was written while Marco Polo was a young man, and it probably encouraged him to enter on his famous course of eastern travel. Marco Polo's reports about Cathay, the delight of mediæval readers and listeners, are tolerably well known. Quite as alluring were the statements of Friar Odoric, a Franciscan from Friuli, who visited Cathay and its neighbourhood near the year 1325. He was especially eloquent about Peking, its walls and gates, its artificial lakes and gorgeous palaces. "The khan's own palace," he wrote, "is of vast size and splendour. There are four-and-twenty columns of gold, and all the walls are hung with skins of red leather, said to be the finest in the world. In the midst of the palace is a certain great jar, more than two paces in height, entirely formed of a certain precious stone, so fine that I was told its price exceeded the value of four great towns. It is all hooped round with gold, and this jar hath also fringes of network of great pearls hanging therefrom. Into this

* *Cathay and the Way Thither; being a Collection of Mediæval Notices of China*, translated and edited by Colonel HENRY YULE, C.B., for the Hakluyt Society (1866, vol. i. Every student of geographical history must be grateful to Colonel Yule for this entertaining and very learned work.

vessel drink is conveyed by certain conduits from the court of the palace, and beside it are many golden goblets from which all drink who list." Among much else, Odoric told how, in the khan's menagerie, were six horses with six legs apiece, four double-headed ostriches, giants twenty feet high, and dwarfs not two spans long, "not to mention the wild men who were in the lord's garden, and women all hairy with long grey hair, though of human form."*

The fabled marvels of Cathay were soon the talk of Europe, and many travellers were induced, as missionaries, or merchants, or pleasure-seekers, or all three combined, to follow in the steps of Marco Polo and Odoric. But these travellers went by land, until near the end of the fifteenth century, when Spain sent out its Christopher Columbus, and England its John Cabot.

Cabot, like Columbus, was an Italian by birth. He was a gold-spurred knight of Venice, who established himself, apparently while yet a young man, as a merchant in Bristol, then famous as the haunt of many of the most enterprising traders in England, with the venerable William Canynge at their head. At Bristol his youngest and most memorable son, Sebastian, was born in 1471 or 1472.† But early in 1476, John

* *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. i.

† The younger Cabot is generally said to have been a native of Venice, but this contemporary testimony appears decisive:—"Sebastian Cabott tould me that he was borne in Bristowe, and that at iiii yeare owld he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father after certeyne yeares."—EDEN, *Decades of the New World* (1555), folio 255.

Cabot returned to Venice, and then, having been expatriated by his long absence, he was reinstated by the Senate in the rights of citizenship for a term of fifteen years.* It is probable that he spent the greater part of these fifteen years in Italy, carrying on his trading avocations, and entering heartily into the speculations which at that time were growing in the minds of bold and learned men as to the possibility of reaching the wonderful region of Cathay by sailing out into the western sea instead of travelling eastward by land. It is likely that he was personally acquainted with Columbus, who, through most of those years, was wandering about in Spain and Italy, seeking wearily for rich men's help towards fulfilment of the projects which were winning the approval of wise men too poor to give him substantial assistance.† Cabot, too, was a wanderer in the interests of science. We are told that he went to Seville and Lisbon, "asking assistance for his

* RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. i. (1864), pp. 131, 136.

† It would be interesting to think, if the story could be relied upon, that nothing but an accident prevented England from having the glory of Columbus's, as well as of Cabot's, discoveries. It is reported that in 1489, despairing of the assistance he sought in Portugal and Spain, Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to plead his cause before Henry VII. Bartholomew came to England, was liberally received by the King, and departed with an assurance of support, if Christopher would himself visit London and make arrangements for the work. But on his way home he was seized and robbed by pirates, and thus reduced to such poverty, that, for some years, he could do nothing but keep himself alive by chart-making. When he got back to Spain, he found that the discovery had already been made, under the auspices of Queen Isabella, and that his brother had actually embarked on a second voyage.—HAKLUYT, *Voyages* (1600), vol. iii., pp. 2, 3.

discoveries.”* Failing in this, he returned to Bristol about the year 1490, and there his scheme for Atlantic voyaging found ready supporters. Throughout the remainder of Henry VII.’s reign Bristol was almost as famous a place of resort for English maritime adventurers as was Palos, under Ferdinand and Isabella, for Spanish seamen. “For the last seven years,” wrote the Spanish ambassador in London to his sovereigns in 1498, “the people of Bristol have sent out every year two, three, or four light ships in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese,”—Genoese being written in error for Venetian.†

About the first outcome of John Cabot’s fancy, occurring at least one or two years before Columbus’s earliest voyage to the Indies, our only information is contained in a contemporary statement, that in 1480—clearly a wrong date—“a ship of John Jay the younger, of eight hundred tons, and another, began their voyage from King’s Road to the island of Brazil, to the west of Ireland, ploughing their way through the sea, and that Thlyde, the most scientific mariner in all England, was the pilot of the ships. News came to Bristol,” it is added, “that the said ships sailed about the sea during nine

* BERGENROTH, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives of Simancas and elsewhere*, vol. i. (1862), p. 177.

† BERGENROTH, vol. i., p. 177. Brazil was one of the many names given to all or part of the vaguely-defined district generally known as Cathay, apparently from the red dye—afterwards found in the real Brazil—which, as we have seen, was one of the Cathayan marvels. The island of the Seven Cities was another of these names.

months, and did not find the island; but, driven by tempests, they returned to a port on the coast of Ireland, for the repose of themselves and their mariners.”* Of the later voyages, prior to 1497, we have no details at all, nor is it anywhere recorded that John Cabot personally shared in them. But it is clear that he was their chief instigator; and it is also clear that, though no land was reached, the Bristol explorers, by no means discouraged, only applied themselves with greater zest each year to their noble undertaking.

A chief motive to perseverance was in the report of Columbus's discoveries, “whereof,” as Sebastian Cabot is said to have remarked many years later, “was great talk in all the Court of King Henry VII., inso-much that all men, with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to sail by the west into the east, by a way that was never known before.”† This general interest in the subject induced John Cabot to plan a more systematic voyage of discovery than had yet been attempted. On the 5th of March, 1496, he obtained letters patent from Henry VII., empowering him and his three sons, Lewis, Sanchez, and Sebastian, with their heirs and deputies, to sail to all countries and in all seas, east, west, or north, under the banner of England, with five ships of whatever size and strength they chose, for the discovery of islands, regions, and provinces of heathens and infidels hitherto unknown to Christendom in any

* Cited by LUCAS, *Secularia* (1862), p. 112.

† HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 7.

part of the globe. This was to be done "at their own proper costs and charges;" but they were instructed to set up the English standard in all newly-found countries, and to subdue and possess them as lieutenants of the King. They were to have exclusive privileges of trade with the natives of these countries, and the King was to receive one-fifth of all their profits in return for the favours bestowed.*

This memorable expedition, second only in importance to that undertaken by Columbus four years and a half before, was not entered upon until the spring of 1497, and then it was in a more modest way than Henry's charter had sanctioned. In two stout ships, manned by three hundred of the ablest mariners that he could find, John Cabot and his sons—or, at any rate, his most famous son, Sebastian—sailed out of Bristol waters near the beginning of May. They went first to Iceland, whither Bristol merchants had been in the habit of sending ships for purposes of trade during the previous half-century or more. Sailing almost due west from Iceland, and apparently passing, without touching, the coast of Greenland, they reached the district now known as Labrador, but called by them and their successors New-found-land, on the 24th of June, 1497. It was at five o'clock in the morning that, from the prow of his ship, the *Matthew*, Cabot first saw the main land of America, just a year before Columbus, passing the West Indian islands, among which his two earlier voyages had been spent, first set eyes upon the

* BYMER, *Fædera*, vol. xii. (1711), p. 595; HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 4.



continent. The precise spot at which Cabot landed is not known, but it must have been very near to the Straits of Bellisle, as on the same day he also discovered the island of Newfoundland, to which he gave the name of Saint John, in honour of the saint on whose day the discovery was made.

At this island, finding it apparently more inviting than the opposite shore, which he supposed to be part of another and larger island, Cabot waited for a little while. No counterpart to the tropical beauty and wealth of gold, and pearls, and precious stones, which rewarded Columbus and his comrades for their daring enterprise, was seen by Cabot and his hardy followers. Instead, they found a bleak and rocky country, on which very few trees appeared to them to grow, and of which white bears and antelopes seemed to be the chief inhabitants. Some groups of men and women they saw, all clothed alike in the skins of beasts, and with little other furniture than the bows and arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings which helped them in their frequent quarrels with one another. Black hawks, black partridges, and black eagles, as they reported, were all the birds that they could find; and the place would have seemed to them altogether inhospitable but for its wonderful supply of cod and other fish. The abundance of cod, indeed, caused the island of Saint John to be also often styled by Spaniards and Portuguese the island of Baccalaos.

That is all we know of Cabot's observations in the southern portion of the lands that he discovered. We

know still less of his impressions concerning the more northern coast of Labrador, which he skirted as he sailed onwards in search of the passage to Cathay. He seems nowhere else to have landed till, having passed the entrance of what is now termed Hudson's Straits, he reached a spot in Davis's Straits in $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude, which he called Desidea, or some English name signifying Sought-for or Desired, and whence, he assured himself, a little further voyaging would take him to the favoured territory of the Great Khan. But his sailors thought otherwise. It was small comfort to them that they were in a region where the clear daylight lasted eighteen hours, and the intervening six hours were twilight rather than proper night. The icebergs that they met at sea, and the snow-covered heights, which were all they could discern of the solid land, filled them with fear, and at last their discontent became so serious, that, to avoid open mutiny, Cabot was forced to abandon his project and turn towards home. He reached England early in August, having failed, as all his successors, during nearly three centuries, were to fail, in finding a northern passage to Cathay or the Indies; but having set an example, which all those successors followed with excellent effect, of the brave and hardy enterprise out of which the European peopling of the North American continent has resulted.*

* EDEN, *Decades of the New World* (translating from GOMARA), fol. 318; ANTONIO GALVANO, *Discoveries of the World*, ed. for the Hakluyt Society, by Vice-Admiral Bethune (1863), pp. 87—89; HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 6—9; RAWDON BROWN, *Notices of John Cabot and his Son Sebastian* in the *Collections of the Philobiblon Society*, vol. ii. (1856);

He was received with great rejoicings. "They call him the Great Admiral," said an intelligent Venetian, resident in London, writing home to his brothers. "Vast honour is paid him, and he dresses in silk; and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases. The King has promised that in the spring he shall have ten ships, armed according to his fancy; and at his request he has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man them with. He has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then."* The amount of this money, certainly small enough, is shown in the record of Henry VII.'s privy purse expenses, where, under the date of the 10th of August, we read—"To hym that found the New Isle, 10*l*."†

King Henry, however, was generously disposed towards Cabot, and willing, for a time at any rate, to do much in furthering his enterprise. His promise of ten ships—one account says fifteen or twenty—was not fully kept; but on the 3rd of February following he granted him a tolerably liberal patent. This patent, issued in the name of John Cabot alone, without mention of his sons and their heirs, conveyed to him, as we

RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i., p. 260; BERGENROTH, vol. i., p. 177; with some other authorities cited by BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* (1831). In this learned book, Mr. Biddle has done much towards establishing a proper comprehension of Cabot history; but documents to which he had no access make it quite clear that John Cabot, and not his hero Sebastian, was the real father of North American discovery and colonization.

* *Collections of the Philobiblon Society.*

† NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica.*

read, "sufficient authority and power that he, by him, his deputy and deputies, may take at his pleasure six English ships in any port or ports or other place within this our realm of England or obeisance, provided the said ships be of the burthen of two hundred tons or under, with their apparel requisite and necessary for the safe conduct of the said ships, and them convey and lead to the land and isles of late found by the said John, in our name and by our commandment." The document further sanctioned the employment of "all such masters, mariners, pages, and other subjects as, of their own free will, will go and pass with him in the same ships to the said land or isles, without any impediment, let, or perturbation of any of our officers, or masters, or subjects."* It is not clear whether Henry VII. did much more than lend his ships to Cabot, and give him authority for manning the five vessels of which the expedition was ultimately composed.† It is probable that most of the expense fell upon Cabot and his brother merchants of Bristol. In the enterprise we are told that "divers merchants of London adventured small stocks," and that with the larger vessels went "three or four small ships fraught with slight and gross wares,

* BIDDLE, pp. 76, 77. This document, found by Mr. Biddle among the National Records, is the most valuable of the contents of his volume.

† These entries are in the king's Privy Purse Book :—"March 22. To Lancelot Thirkill of London, upon a prest, for his shipp going towards the New Islands, 20*l*. Delivered to Launcelot Thirkill, going towards the New Isle, in prest, 20*l*. April 1. To Thos. Bradley and Lancelot Thirkill, going to the New Isle, 30*l*. To John Carter going to the Newe Isle, in rewarde, 2*l*."—NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 116, 117.

as coarse cloth, caps, laces, points, and such other.”* For these commodities it was thought that a ready market would be found in rich Cathay.

It is probable that John Cabot took no part in this second expedition. He is supposed to have died at Bristol early in 1498, and to have been succeeded in the command by his son Sebastian, then about twenty-six years old. Of the issue of the voyage we know nothing save that the younger Cabot sailed as far north as he was able, and then, driven back, as his father had been, by frost and icebergs, turned southwards and explored the coast of America as far as the neighbourhood of what is now Chesapeake Bay, then part of Florida.†

That it was not very successful may be inferred from the statement that though, soon after his return, Sebastian Cabot made fresh proposals “for discovering new countries,” they “had no great or favourable entertainment of the King.”‡ Henry seems to have despaired of reaching Cathay by a northern route,

* Stow, *Annals* (1605), p. 804. The original of this statement is among the *British Museum MSS.* Cotton, Vitellius, A. xvi., fol. 173.

† EDEN, fol. 318; GALVANO, p. 89. One of the ships, “in which one Friar Buil went,” returned to Ireland in great distress early in July. The Spanish ambassador, who gives this information in a letter to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, adds: “I have seen, on a chart, the direction which they took and the distance they sailed, and I think that what they found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses are already possessed of. I write this, because the King of England has often spoken to me on the subject, and he thinks your Highnesses will take great interest in it. I told him that, in my opinion, the land was already in possession of your Majesties; but, though I gave him my reasons, he did not like them.”—BERGENROTH, vol. i., p. 177.

‡ SEYER, *Memoirs of Bristol* (1821), vol. ii., p. 208—citing a contemporary record of the city.

and he had no inclination to be brought into a quarrel with the Spanish sovereigns by trespassing on the more southern territories which, by the unquestionable verdict of the Pope, were their exclusive property.

Sebastian Cabot, however, inheriting all his father's zeal for maritime research, did not abandon the work. In 1499, we are told, "with no extraordinary preparation, he set forth from Bristol, and made great discoveries."*

As to the nature of those discoveries we are altogether ignorant. It is very much to be regretted that the memoirs and descriptions of his and his father's voyages which Sebastian Cabot carefully prepared, and which existed in London nearly a hundred years later,† have all been lost. Had they survived, we might have had a record as full and interesting as that detailing the work of Columbus and his followers, of enterprises quite as daring, and eventually quite as important in their consequences as anything in the brilliant and affecting history of Spanish voyaging to the West Indies and the neighbouring districts of South and North America. As it is, all our information has to be derived from a few bald entries in state papers and official account books, a few chance letters and contemporary anecdotes, and a few meagre and often contradictory reports of statements made by the younger Cabot and his comrades

* SEYER, *Memoirs of Bristol* (1821), vol. ii., p. 208.

† HAKLUYT, *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*, first published in 1582 (Hakluyt Society, p. 26. Much of the information before cited from Hakluyt occurs in this earlier work; but I have referred to the later publication as one more generally accessible.

many years after the occurrences to which they refer.

From these stray records it would appear that, though there was no fruitful English colonization of Labrador and its neighbourhood akin to the Spanish colonization of the West Indies and the adjoining mainland, several smaller expeditions, led by Sebastian Cabot and other adventurous merchants of Bristol, succeeded the more famous voyages of 1497 and 1498; and that in these was attempted, not only the further exploration of the districts, but also some sort of English settlement upon them. On the 19th of March, 1501, for instance, letters patent were granted by King Henry to three men of Bristol, named Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas, and to three Portuguese associated with them, empowering them, at their own expense, to discover, take possession of, and trade with any islands, countries, regions, and provinces, in the eastern, western, northern, or southern seas, which were not yet known to Christendom;* and a similar patent, granted on the 9th of December, 1502, to Thomas Ashehurst, Hugh Eliot, and two of the Portuguese adventurers,† shows that their general authority to sail all over the world was used in furtherance of the explorations already made in the region of Labrador. Under date of the 7th of January, 1502, are two entries in the King's account book, showing that a sum of 5*l.* was given "to men of Bristol that found the Isle," and another sum of 20*l.* "to the merchants of Bristol that have been in

* BIDDLE, pp. 226, 227, 312.

† RYMER, vol. xiii., p. 37.

the New-found-land.”* “This year also,” says an old chronicler, “were brought unto the King three men taken in the New-found-island. These were clothed in beasts’ skins, and ate raw flesh and spake such speech that no man could understand them, and in their demeanour like to brute beasts, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which, upon two years past after, I saw two, apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, which at the time I could not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were ; but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word.” †

North American Indians were not the only curiosities imported by the Bristol merchants. On the 17th of November, 1503, the King’s privy purse was charged with 1*l.*, paid “to one that brought hawks from the New-found-island,” and in August, 1505, it is recorded that “wild cats and popinjays of the New-found-islands” were conveyed to the King’s palace at Richmond, at a cost of 13*s.* 4*d.* ‡

* BIDDLE, p. 230.

† STOW.

‡ BIDDLE, p. 234. In *The Four Elements*, a philosophical poem, printed in London in 1519, and lately brought to light by Mr. COLLIER, there is this allusion to the Atlantic Ocean :—

“ This sea is called the Great Ocean ;
 So great it is that never man
 Could tell it sith the world began,
 Till now within this twenty year
 Westward be found new landes
 That we never heard tell of before this,
 By writingē nor other meanēs,
 Yet many nowē have been there.

There is nothing to show that Sebastian Cabot had anything to do with these later enterprises of Henry VII.'s reign, and, if he was ever personally engaged in Bristol commerce, he appears to have abandoned it at an early age, in order that he might apply himself exclusively to geographical studies and pursuits connected with maritime discovery. We may guess something of his occupations from another account-book entry, coming after a dozen years of entire silence concerning him, to the effect that, in May, 1512, he received 20s. from Henry VIII.'s exchequer, for making a chart of Gascony and Guienne.*

That was not exactly the sort of work on which his heart was set. Therefore, having some ground for discontentment at the way in which, of late years, Henry VII. had treated him, and receiving even less sympathy in his daring projects from Henry VIII., he was willing to turn elsewhere for employment. This

And that country is so large of room,
Much longer than all Christendom,
Without fable or guile;
For divers mariners have it tried
And sailed straight by the coast-side
Above five thousand mile
And also what an honourable thing
Both to the realm and to the King
To have had his dominion extending
There into so far a ground
Which the noble King of late memory,
The most wise prince, the Seventh Harry,
Caused first for to be found."

* BREWER; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere in England*, vol. i. (1862), p. 1456.

was offered him, in the summer of 1512, by King Ferdinand of Spain. The Spanish monarch, more zealous than his English allies in the work of American discovery, and long before jealous of the services which Cabot had proposed to render to them, took advantage of the presence of Lord Willoughby, who went to him as ambassador from England in 1511, and asked him to send the great voyager to Seville, "which," says the sarcastic historian, "he did as a thing of little moment."*

Cabot arrived in Spain in September, 1512. He was at once made a captain and a member of the Council of the New Indies, provided with a liberal allowance, and ordered to reside in Seville, there to be in readiness for any work that might be assigned to him.† In Seville, Peter Martyr made his acquaintance. "Cabot is my very friend," he said, "whom I use familiarly, and delight to have him sometimes keep me company in my own house."‡

During this first term of Spanish service, however, Cabot was only employed as a map-maker and stay-at-home adviser in maritime affairs. After three years' waiting, he was instructed to make preparations for a voyage of discovery; but before the arrangements were completed, in January, 1516, Ferdinand died, and the jealous conduct of Cardinal Ximenes, as Regent, caused a further delay, and led to Cabot's return to England towards the close of the year. Here he repeated his

* CARDENAS, *Ensaio Cronologico para la Historia General de Florida*, (1723), cited by BIDDLE, p. 100.

† HERRERA, dec. i, lib. ix., cap. xiii.

‡ Dec. iii., cap. vi., translated by EDEN, fol. 119.

arguments for a voyage of north-western discovery, and with so much success that, in 1517, an expedition was fitted out by Henry VIII., and intrusted to him and Sir Thomas Spert,* with the object of “going in the back-side of the New-found-land, until they came to the back-side and south seas of the Indies Occidental, and so, continuing their voyage, to return through the Straits of Magellan.”† Of the details of this bold undertaking we know even less than of its forerunners. It failed perforce, and Cabot’s friends complained that “Sir Thomas Spert’s faint heart was the cause that it took none effect.”‡ But no one need be blamed for failure in an enterprise which, a thousand times attempted, was a thousand times unfortunate so far as the finding of a north-west passage was concerned, during nearly a dozen generations.

With the exception of one other voyage, which will be noticed hereafter, that was the only attempt made by Henry VIII. in quest of a route to Cathay or any of the real sources of wealth that became objects of pursuit after the Cathayan fable had been discarded. Cabot at once returned to Spain, and he was in Spanish service for thirty years ensuing.§ In 1518, he was

* He is everywhere called, by old and new historians, Sir Thomas Pert; but this is evidently an error. Spert was for some time captain of the *Great Harry*, and a useful servant of Henry VIII.

† A letter of Robert Thorne, the younger, in HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 212.

‡ EDEN, Dedication to *A Treatyse of Newe India* (1553).

§ “Some three years ago,” Cabot is reported to have said in conversation with the Venetian ambassador at Seville, on Christmas Eve, 1522, “when I was in England, Cardinal Wolsey offered me high terms if I would sail with an armada of discovery. The vessels were almost ready,

CHAPTER III.

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S NAVY.

[1511—1546.]

FOR nothing are Henry VIII. and his great counsellors, with Cardinal Wolsey at their head, more highly to be praised than for the zeal and wisdom with which they sought to augment the naval strength of England, and, by means of that naval strength, to improve the position and influence of their country among the other states of Europe. The extreme importance of an efficient navy, as we have seen, had been discovered by some of the Plantagenets, especially by Edward III. and Henry V. Henry VII., also, had done much towards laying the foundations of English maritime power. In the first year of his reign the attention of Parliament had been called to "the great minishment and decay of the navy and the idleness of the mariners," whereby it was feared that the whole nation would be ruined; and, in accordance with the rude political economy of Tudor times, a law had been straightway passed prohibiting the importation of Gascon and Guienne wines, then an important branch of English commerce, in any but English,

Welsh, and Irish ships, manned with native sailors.* This Act had been renewed and amplified four years later, and many other efforts had been made, during the four-and-twenty years in which Henry VII. was King, to promote the growth of shipping, both for warlike and for peaceful purposes. To that end the voyages of the Cabots and their associates had been encouraged, so long as there seemed a likelihood of their producing any advantage to the nation. To the same end some war ships, of famous size and strength, according to the poor standard of the times, had been constructed by the Crown; the chief of which, the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, a clumsy hulk containing five masts overloaded with rigging, so narrow and so high, especially in the rear, as to be in great danger of capsizing, and only able to move with any precision when it was following the wind, cost upwards of 14,000*l.* in the building.†

But these were only the rough beginnings of a work which was fairly inaugurated under the rule of Henry VIII. The new King saw, as clearly as his father had done, the necessity of increasing the influence of England among the nations of Europe, and he wisely held that an essential means towards this object was in the extension of English power at sea. Other states, in times when Europe still comprised nearly the whole of the known world of civilization, might do without navies; but, if England was to be anything more than

* *Acts of Parliament*, 1 Henry VII., cap. 8.

† CHARNOCK, *History of Marine Architecture* (1801), vol. ii., pp. 28—31.

a self-contained island, was to have any considerable share in the general progress of Christendom, it must be to a great extent through the agency of a well-constructed, well-sustained, and well-manned fleet. So it appeared to Henry VIII.; and his two greatest advisers, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, forgot their jealousies in furtherance of the same prudent thought. Wolsey worked chiefly in seeing to the proper building, manning, and victualling of ships. The Duke of Norfolk's principal service was in sending his two eldest sons to be the first and worthiest of the earlier Tudor admirals.

The Howards, famous for their association with every other important office of state, had already been connected with the history of English seamanship. Sir John Howard, son of the Sir William Howard who made the family illustrious by his service as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas under Edward III., was made Admiral of the King's northern fleet in 1335; and another Sir John Howard, after distinguishing himself as a land soldier in the French wars of Henry VI.'s reign, was made Captain-General of the navy by Edward IV. in 1462, and again in 1470. He had not much naval work to do, but in military and official ways he was very serviceable both to Edward IV. and to Richard III., one reward for his devotion being his elevation by the latter monarch, in 1483, to the Dukedom of Norfolk. He was slain at the battle of Bosworth, and his son, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, was, on Henry VII.'s accession, attainted for his devotion to the Yorkist

party. The King, however, soon had ample evidence of the earl's ability and trustworthiness. We are told that he used to visit him and treat him as a friend even during his captivity in the Tower. The captivity was not long. In 1489 Thomas Howard was reinstated in his earldom and the possessions attached to it, and in succeeding years he was endowed with numerous important offices under the Crown. Henry VII. made him Lord Treasurer of England, and by Henry VIII. he was appointed Earl Marshal in 1510. In 1514, for his victory over James IV. of Scotland at Flodden Field he was created Duke of Norfolk.*

His eldest son was Lord Thomas Howard, born about the year 1474, who, in succession to his father, became Earl of Surrey in 1514 and third Duke of Norfolk in 1524. More famous was the second son, Sir Edward Howard, whose early death, it is probable, alone prevented him from succeeding Cardinal Wolsey to the foremost place in England during the latter half of Henry VIII.'s reign.

His public life began in 1492, when he was only sixteen or seventeen years old. In that year Henry VII. sent a little expedition of twelve ships, under the direction of Sir Edward Poynings, to punish Baron de Ravenstein and his freebooting auxiliaries, for the systematic piracies by which they did much harm, not only to the German government, whose allegiance they had thrown off, but also to all the nations trading with Flanders, and most of all to England, seeing that

* COLLINS, *Peerage*, vol. i., pp. 53, 54, 55, &c.

the English merchants then used Antwerp as a chief mart for traffic with nearly all the continental towns. Ravenstein had taken possession of the town and harbour of Sluys, fortified by two strong castles, and Poynings was sent to attack the city by sea, while the Duke of Saxony and a German army besieged it by land. For twenty days successively the ships made the best assaults in their power, and at last, though more through the accidental burning of a bridge between the two castles, than through the successful fighting of either the army or the fleet, the little nest of pirates was destroyed. For his prowess in this his first employment on naval work, young Edward Howard was highly praised.* In 1497 he was knighted for his brave deportment on land, while attending his father on an expedition to Scotland;† and in later years he was employed, and always successfully, in various minor services to Henry VII. Henry VIII., on his accession in 1509, made him Royal Standard-Bearer of England.‡

Our earliest information concerning his elder brother Thomas is that, in 1510, either in reward for some unrecorded service, or as a compliment to the famous house of Howard, he was installed as a Knight of the Garter.§ In the following year some memorable employment was found for both brothers in the capture of Andrew Barton, the great Scottish merchant and pirate, scion of

* HALL, *Union of the Two Noble Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York* (1548), sub *Henry VII.*, fols. 17, 22b.

† COLLINS, vol. i., p. 80.

‡ RYMER, vol. xiii., p. 251.

§ ANSTIS, *Register of the Garter*, vol. i., p. 273.

a family which by help of merchandize and piracy attained high rank in Scotland under James IV. and James V. In 1476 a trading ship and its costly cargo, belonging to John Barton, Andrew's father, had been seized by a Portuguese squadron, and the letters of reprisal granted to him in consequence became, according to the rough usage of that period, an authority for unlimited piracy during the next thirty or forty years. The younger Bartons, Andrew, John, and Robert, prospered by it. They and Sir Andrew Wood were James IV.'s chief advisers and most zealous agents in all the maritime achievements and attempts for which this monarch's reign is memorable. The *Great Michael*, as famous for its size and worthlessness in the sixteenth century as is the *Great Eastern* in our own times, was built and sent to sea, at a cost of 30,000*l.*, under their joint direction.* It was in one of Robert Barton's ships that, in 1497, Perkin Warbeck was sent to trouble

* "This ship was of so great stature and took so much timber that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which were oak wood, with all timber that was gotten out of Norway; for she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth, all the wrights of Scotland, yea and many strangers, were at her device by the King's command. She was twelve score foot of length and thirty-six foot within the sides. She was ten foot thick in the walls and boards on every side, so slack and so thick that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to sea. She bare many cannon, six on every side, with three great basils, two behind in her dock and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery, to wit, falcons, slings, pestilent serpents and double dogs, with culverins, cross-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her. She had six score of gunners to use her artillery, and had a thousand men of war by her, captains, skippers, and quartermasters."—PINKERTON, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 68.

England with his pretended right of royalty ; and in 1504 John Barton was despatched, at the head of a strong fleet, to bring the people of the western isles under subjection to the Crown of Scotland. Meanwhile the old Portuguese grievance was not forgotten. In 1507 fresh letters of marque were issued to the three brothers, authorizing them to scour the seas and spoil or capture any Portuguese vessels they might meet with, until they had seized property to the value of twelve thousand ducats, the supposed amount of old John Barton's loss some thirty years before. The Scottish pirates, however, were not altogether successful. Towards the end of the same year, Robert Barton was caught by the Portuguese at Campvere, in Zealand, and there detained for some years under the instructions of Margaret of Savoy. Therefrom arose much controversy between James IV. and Margaret, and so much fresh privateering on the part of the Bartons that they became pests to the ships of every nation trading along the western coast of Europe.*

In this way it happened that, in June, 1511, while Henry VIII. was keeping Court at Lincoln, formal complaint was made to him on behalf of his trading subjects, that Andrew Barton, under pretence of war with Portugal, "did rob every nation and so stopped the King's channel that no merchant almost could pass." Henry does not seem to have paid much attention to

* TYTLER, *History of Scotland* (1845), vol. iii., p. 485 ; vol. iv., pp. 22, 42, 51, 52. BREWER, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i. (1862), pp. 128, 185, 388.

the report; but it so roused the anger of the Earl of Surrey that he vowed "the narrow seas should not be thus infested whilst he had an estate that could furnish a ship, or a son who was able to command it." And he so far kept his oath that he promptly fitted out two sturdy vessels, and, placing them under the command of his sons, Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Edward Howard, sent them in chase of the two ships, the *Lion* and the *Jenny Pirwin*, with which Andrew Barton was scouring the seas.*

The brothers sailed along the Downs together, and without finding the pirates, for some days. Then a storm arose, which separated them, and brought them into collision with the objects of their pursuit. Lord Thomas Howard fell in with the *Lion*, in which Barton was making his way with a rich load of booty to Scotland. He gave him chase and soon overtook him. "There was sore battle," says the old chronicler. "The Englishmen were fierce and the Scots defended themselves manfully, and ever Andrew blew his whistle to encourage his men, yet for all that, the Lord Howard and his men by clear force entered the main deck. Then the English entered on all sides, and the Scots fought sore on the hatches; but, in conclusion, Andrew was taken, being so sore wounded that he died there, and then all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ship." Like good fortune attended Sir Edward Howard. Meeting with the *Jenny Pirwin*, he soon

* HALL, *Henry VIII.*, fol. 15; CAMPBELL, *Lives of the Admirals* (1779), vol. ii., pp. 285, 286; TYTLER, vol. iv., p. 56.

boarded her, and then without delay "slew many and took all the rest."*

Independent fights with pirates were of frequent occurrence; but the fame both of Andrew Barton and of the Howards made this undertaking very memorable in its results. The ships and prisoners having been taken to Blackwall on the 2nd of August, 1511, the Scotsmen were promptly brought to trial. They acknowledged their offences, sued for mercy, and, after a few years' captivity, were sent home with an admonition to lead honester lives in future.† But James IV. was not pleased at the loss of Andrew Barton and the ships. Both he and his ally, King John of Denmark, made many angry demands for reparation; to which Henry bluntly answered that Barton had been rightly handled for his "robberies and cruel dealings," and that "it became not a prince to charge his confederates with breach of peace for doing justice upon a pirate and a thief."‡

This quarrel helped to bring about fresh war with Scotland and with Scotland's French allies; and out of it came employment both to Lord Thomas and to Sir Edward Howard, and much honour to the youngest brother at any rate.

Both were provided with important work. In May, 1512, Lord Thomas was appointed second in command, under the Marquis of Dorset, of ten thousand men, whom

* HALL, fol. 15; HOLLINSHED, vol. iii., p. 565; PINKERTON, vol. ii., pp. 69—71.

† LORD HERBERT, *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 7.

‡ BREWER, vol. i., pp. 347, 388, 467, 485; PINKERTON, vol. ii., p. 71.

Henry sent to Biscay, there to aid King Ferdinand of Spain in his war with France. The expedition was altogether unfortunate. Insubordination broke out on the voyage, when the sailors plundered the sea-sick soldiers; and the commanders were unable to establish discipline among the raw recruits, who, landing in Spain on the 7th of June, found no provision made for their maintenance. They were left to sleep in the open fields or to seek shelter from the rain by crouching under bushes.* There was no proper supply of food for them. "For the most part," it was reported, "they were victualled with garlic and drank hot wines and ate hot fruits, which procured their blood to boil in their bodies, whereby there fell sick and died more than eighteen hundred persons."† "An it please your Grace," wrote the English commissioner to Cardinal Wolsey, "the greatest lack of victuals that is here is of beer; for your subjects had liever for to drink beer than wine or cider, for the hot wines doth harm them, and the cider doth cast them in disease and sickness."‡ Those who remained alive became every day more mutinous. Had Ferdinand been willing to employ them at once in fighting against France, they would have been glad enough; but just then he was trying, in crooked ways, to gain his ends without fighting; and his English auxiliaries were left to die on the shores of Biscay.

At length the Marquis of Dorset fell ill, and Lord Thomas Howard was left in charge of the forces.

* BREWER, vol. i., pp. 362, 375.

† Stow, p. 491.

‡ BREWER, vol. i., p. 397.

Without waiting for instructions from his master, he sent to Ferdinand to ask whether the English were to be employed upon the work for which they had been sent out. The Spanish King replied that there was no fighting then to be done, but if they would wait till next spring they should have plenty of it. To this Howard sent an indignant answer. "What report of honour," he said, "can we make of the King of Arragon? For at his desire we be come hither, and here we have lain in camp a long space, ever tarrying for the performance of his promise, and yet nothing hath he performed. Our people be dead in great number, and each one of us doth much lament that long idleness, by reason whereof many a tall man, having nothing to do but abide your master's pleasure, hath fallen into some mischief. What shall the King our master report of our slothfulness, which hath spent him innumerable treasure, and nothing gained?"* Having thus expressed himself to Ferdinand's agent, he called a council of his officers, and asked them what was to be done. For himself, he said, "in case he might have a meetly company with him, he would endeavour this winter war, and gladlier would he die for the honour of his master, the realm, and himself, than, contrary to the King's commandment, with rebuke and shame return to England."† But officers and men alike refused to stay any longer in Spain. They declared that they would return to England at all hazards, and this they did early in October, very greatly

* HALL, fol. 18.

† BREWER, vol. i., p. 422.

to the anger of King Henry, and much to the amazement of all Christendom. "Englishmen have so long abstained from war," said the Emperor Maximilian and his daughter Margaret to Henry's ambassador, "that they lack experience from disuse, and are sick of it already."*

In contradiction of that taunt, and with the view of saving England from the repetition of such a sore disgrace, Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey set themselves to augment and organize the warlike strength of the country; and they saw that if this was to be done by improving the art of soldiership, a much more necessary work was the advancement of its power at sea. The work, indeed, had been begun before its importance had been proved by the disaster in Spain. On the 7th of April, 1512, Sir Edward Howard, then about thirty-six years old, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet and Captain of the Army at Sea, his primary duty being the convoying of the Marquis of Dorset and his ten thousand men to the Spanish coast. The fleet comprised eighteen ships, of which the two largest were the *Regent*, of 1,000 tons burthen, and the *Mary Rose*, carrying 500 tons. The burthen of all the eighteen amounted to 4,750 tons, and there were 3,700 sailors, soldiers, and gunners on board. †

With this force, by no means inconsiderable three centuries and a half ago, though no more than a single modern man-of-war could easily disable, Sir Edward

* BREWER, vol. i., p. 427.

† RYMER, vol. xiii., p. 326. Sir Edward Howard's pay was 10s. a day; that of his captains, 1s. 6d. apiece; the common men had 5s. a month in wages, and an allowance of 5s. more for victuals.

Howard quitted the Solent on the 3rd of June, 1512.* Having escorted the little army to Biscay, he proceeded to the western coast of Brittany. There, on several occasions, he landed and scoured the country a little to the south of Brest. "Alas!" exclaimed the country people, "the King of England hath ever before succoured us, and now he intendeth to destroy us." At one time, it is reported, the governors of the district sent to beg him to desist from these sudden attacks, and meet them in open fight. "Go say to them that sent thee," answered Sir Edward Howard to the messenger, "that all this day they shall find me here tarrying their coming." Accordingly, in the afternoon about ten thousand Breton soldiers made their appearance; but no sooner were they face to face with the two thousand five hundred Englishmen, than they took to their heels and ran all the way to Brest; "and when they came to their homes," adds the chronicler, "some said the battle was great, some said the Englishmen were forty thousand." Then the governors begged him to dictate terms of peace. "Nay," replied Howard, "we are sent hither to make war, not peace." And he continued his rough usage until he thought the inhabitants were sufficiently reduced for the fame of their misfortunes to rouse the French authorities to formidable resistance and to the preparation of a strong fleet with which to meet him. This being done, on his hearing that a goodly body of ships was on its way to Brest, he returned to the Isle

* BREWER, vol. i., p. 362.

of Wight to make ready for some bolder and more dignified fighting.*

This occurred in the following August, when Sir Edward Howard, with a fleet of five-and-twenty ships, returned to the neighbourhood of Brest, where he had heard that "a French fleet of thirty-nine sail, commanded by an officer named Primauguet or Porsmoguer, but known to the English as Pierce Morgan, was waiting to receive him. The enemies met on the 11th of August off St. Mahé. "When the Englishmen perceived the French navy to be out of Brest," says the old historian, "then the Lord Admiral was very joyous, then every man prepared according to his duty, the archers to shoot, the gunners to loose, the men of arms to fight. Thus, all things being provided and set in order, the Englishmen approached towards the Frenchmen, which came fiercely forward, some levying his anchor, some with his foresail only, to take the most advantage; and when they were in sight, they shot ordnance so terribly together that all the sea coast sounded of it." The battle, so eagerly desired by both parties, very soon became general. The *Sovereign*, which was the second ship in the English fleet, gave chase to the *Cordelier*, the largest of the French vessels, and, according to the French account, nearly twice the size of the *Regent*. The *Sovereign* was repulsed; and then the *Regent* took her place. Thereupon ensued a

* HALL, fol. 20. There is evidently some confusion in Hall's chronology, which refers this expedition to the precise time in which Sir Edward Howard was proceeding to Spain.

deadly contest. Sir Thomas Knyvet, who was in charge of the *Regent*, succeeded in grappling the French vessel, and, after much fierce struggling, in boarding her. "The archers of the English part and the cross-bows of the French part did their uttermost." Finally the French were fairly beaten; but just then, either through accident or treachery, a fire broke out in the *Cordelier*, which spread to the *Regent* before the grappling-irons could be removed; and thus both ships, the pride of England and the pride of France, were utterly destroyed, with nearly all the men on board. By this terrible mischance the fighting was stayed. The remaining French ships hurried back to Brest, and the English, we are told, "were so amazed that they followed them not." The amazement, however, soon turned to anger. "Sir Edward hath made his vow to God," wrote Wolsey to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, "that he will never see the King in the face till he hath revenged the death of the noble and valiant Sir Thomas Knyvet." He took his revenge by scouring the seas and capturing and burning a great many ships along the coasts of Brittany, Picardy, and Normandy; "and thus they kept the sea."*

While this irregular fighting continued, and during the ensuing months, Henry VIII. and his counsellors set themselves heartily to the procurement of some better way of keeping the sea. The summer of 1512, indeed, was a memorable epoch in the history of the

* British Museum, *Cottonian MSS.* Titus B. I., p. 99, containing Wolsey's letter to Fox; HALL, fols. 21, 22; GRAFTON, p. 970.

British navy and of English shipbuilding. The desire of prosecuting the war with France, and of repairing the injury done to the national credit by the mutinous return of the Marquis of Dorset's little army from Spain, gave a great impulse to the work. All through the year England was full of preparations for further and more zealous fighting, and most energetic of all were the plans for building, manning, and fitting out more efficient vessels of war and transports. Wolsey was supposed to be the great promoter of the contest with France; he was certainly the life and soul of the arrangements for bringing it to a successful issue. Hitherto a mere churchman who had begun to dabble in statesmanship, he suddenly appears as the foremost mover in all the administrative work of England. "He it is who determines the sums of money needful for the expedition, the line of march, the number and arrangement of the troops, even to the fashion of their armour and the barding of their horses. He it is who superintends the infinite details consequent on the shipment of a large army. He corresponds about the victualling, and is busy with beer, beef and biscuits, transports, joists and empty casks. He puts out or puts in the names of the captains and masters of the fleet, and apportions the gunners and the convoys. Ambassadors, admirals, generals, paymasters, pursers, secretaries, men of all grades, and in every sort of employment, crowd about him for advice and information."* In nearly all the voluminous State papers of the period,

* BREWER, vol. i. pp. xlv., xlv.

which illustrate this subject, he is referred to for instructions or spoken of as author of the busy work being done in England. "I pray God soon deliver you out of your outrageous charge and labour," says Bishop Fox, in one letter to him ; "else ye shall have a cold stomach, little sleep, pale visage, and a thin belly, *cum pari egestionem*."*

Wolsey's work in the reconstruction of the national navy lasted over many years. But good proof of it appeared in March, 1513, when Sir Edward again put to sea for another summer's fighting with the French. His fleet then numbered four-and-twenty ships, only six more than the number with which he had been intrusted a year before, on his first appointment as Lord Admiral. In these four-and-twenty, however, there was numerically nearly twice as much strength, and actually a great deal more than twice as much, as in the eighteen of 1512. The stately *Regent* had been burnt in the action with the *Cordelier* ; but there were two other ships as large as the *Regent*—the *Henry Imperial*, which seems to have been the same as the *Sovereign*, and probably was Henry VII.'s *Henry Grace à Dieu*, rechristened on Henry VIII.'s accession, and the *Trinity*, each of 1,000 tons burthen, and carrying 700 men apiece. The portage of the whole amounted to 8,460 tons, containing in all 26 captains and 4,650 soldiers, 24 masters, and 2,880 mariners, a total of 6,480 officers and men. To these twenty-four fighting ships there were attached twenty-seven smaller vessels

* BREWER, vol. i., p. 585.

as victuallers ; and in addition there were some eighty or ninety other ships, barks, buoys, and other craft, mostly the property of merchants and private adventurers, chartered for purposes of transport, or retained for supplying any deficiencies that might occur in the regular fleet.*

On Saturday, the 19th of March, the King went down to Greenwich to inspect the greater number of his fighting ships, and he gave instructions to Sir Edward Howard that he was to send him a particular account of the way in which each vessel comported itself upon the sea. This account has come down to us in a mutilated state. It tells how the fleet set sail on the following Monday, a contrary wind having made it impossible for the usual sailors' luck to be courted by embarking on a Sunday, and in what order the different ships made their way along the Downs and past the Goodwin Sands. Some of the smaller craft gave very little satisfaction to the Admiral. The *Christ*, a vessel of 300 tons burthen, he says, "was one of the worst; she may bear no more sail; no more may the *Katherine*," which was of the same size. But of the larger ships he speaks very highly. The *Mary Rose*, carrying 600 tons, his own flagship, was the swiftest of them all, being inferior only in bulk to the *Sovereign* or *Henry Imperial*. "Sir," he says, "she is the noblest ship of sail, is this great ship, at this hour, that I trow be in Christendom; the flower, I trow, of all ships that ever sailed." And the conclusion of his

* BREWER, vol. i., pp. 550—554.

report is, that "such a fleet hath been never seen in Christendom." *

In that temper Sir Edward Howard led his ships to Plymouth, there to wait for victuals and reinforcements ; and thence, on the 5th of April, he wrote up to Wolsey, begging him, for God's sake, to be prompt in sending him an abundance of good food, better than some of that previously supplied, as he had heard that a hundred sail of Frenchmen were coming towards him, and as he expected to have an engagement with them within five or six days. When they did meet, he added, he trusted in God and Saint George that 'he would have a fair day with them.† In this he was disappointed. Passing out of Plymouth Roads on Sunday, the 10th of April, with more than a hundred craft of all sorts, of which forty-two were "ships royal and others of war," he fell in on the following morning with fifteen French ships, and offered battle ; but, as he reported, "they fled like cowards as soon as they spied the English," and he could do no more than pursue them as far as the mouth of Brest Harbour, where he saw them join the main body of the French fleet, numbering in all about fifty sail. ‡

This fleet comprised the greater part of the navy then possessed by France, augmented, just about the time of Howard's putting to sea, by six stout Mediterranean galleys led by Pierre Jean le Bidoulx, called by

* ELLIS, *Original Letters*, Second Series (1827), vol. i., pp. 212—217.

† *Ibid.*, Third Series, vol. i., pp. 145—151.

‡ British Museum, *Cottonian MSS.*, Caligula D. vi., p. 337 ; HALL, fol. 22.

the English Prester John, a knight of Rhodes, considered in his day the greatest naval commander in the world, who at once took charge of all the enemy's shipping. Unabashed by Prester John's great name, and only stimulated by it to a stronger desire for his overthrow, Howard counted on an easy victory. "Sir," he wrote to King Henry, "we have them at the greatest advantage that ever men had. Sir, God worketh in your cause and right. Sir, the first wind that ever cometh, they shall have broken heads, that all the world shall speak of it. Sir, if God thinketh good to send us any wind, the navy of France shall do your Grace little hurt."

The harbour of Brest being adapted for the passage of large vessels only at high tide, Howard considered that he would be able to keep the alien fleet in a sort of prison until he could demolish it. But the same circumstance that prevented the egress of Prester John and his ships, hindered Howard from attacking them at a convenient time. He therefore held at bay for a few days, using his leisure in sending parties of his men to land on the neighbouring coast and do as much damage as was possible. One large and four small French ships that ventured out of the harbour were burnt by him; and one of his own vessels, whose officers were ignorant of the hidden dangers of the situation, was dashed to pieces among the rocks, though not too soon for the people to be saved. This was the *Nicholas of Hampton*, under Captain Arthur. "Sir," said Howard, in another letter to his sovereign, "I have

taken all Master Arthur's folks and bestowed them in the arms where I am deficient by reason of death by casualty and otherwise. And, sir, I have given him liberty to go home; for, when he was in the extreme danger, he called upon Our Lady of Walsingham for help and comfort, and made a vow that, an it pleased God and her to deliver him out of the peril, he would never eat flesh nor fish till he had seen her. Sir, I assure you he was in marvellous danger; for it was marvel that the ship, being with all her sails striking full butt a rock with her stern, brake not in pieces at the first stroke.*

In that position the rival fleets continued for a fortnight. Prester John used the interval in strengthening his defences, one of his measures being the lashing together of twenty large hulks which, in the event of an attack, he proposed to set on fire and drive, while they were burning, among the opposing vessels. But Sir Edward Howard was in no way disheartened. So confident was he of ultimate success, that he wrote to the King, begging him to come in person to lead the battle, and "have the honour of so high an enterprise." If Henry's own chivalrous disposition at all inclined him to this work, he was promptly restrained by his advisers. The King's Council wrote back to Howard, sharply reproving him for his suggestion, and bidding him, without any further delay, "accomplish that which pertained to his duty." †

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, Caligula D. vi., pp. 337—339, and Caligula E. ii., pp. 141—143; HALL, fol. 22.

† HALL, fols. 22, 23; HERBERT, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*

That unkind message is reported to have driven Sir Edward Howard, always over-bold, to the rash act which cost him his life and deprived England of the ablest sea-warrior that, up to that time, she had possessed. Stronger inducement doubtless came from the fear, newly enforced in his mind each day, that Prester John would find some means of making an escape, and so thwart his project of, by one day's work, spoiling the whole navy of France. At any rate he lost patience. On Sunday, the 24th of April, he put all his six thousand fighting men on shore, with the intention of attacking the French fleet by land; but, before they had marched far, he hastily recalled them, under the impression that Prester John was making ready to sail out of the harbour while his gaolers were away. On the following morning, the morning of Saint Mark's Day, he resolved to be idle no longer. Calling together a few chosen friends, Lord Ferrers, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Shirborne, and Sir William Sidney.—Philip Sidney's grandfather—among the number, he told them that he was determined, at any risk, to attack Prester John's own ship and some of his Mediterranean galleys, which were stationed in a corner by themselves. He asked whether they would help him to make the attack as secretly as possible, and with the help of two such boats as would be able to enter the harbour even at low water. They assented, and lost no time in setting out. Rowing quickly right up to the enemy, they made good progress before they were discovered; but then they were assailed with balls and arrows, which "came

together as thick as hailstones," according to the statement of Captain Edward Ichyngham. These volleys were answered by sharp firing from the boats, until Lord Ferrers, who had command of one of the two parties, had no more ammunition left. For shelter he crept under one of the great galleys, while Howard led his boat close up to the side of Prester John's vessel, and, with seventeen of his followers, succeeded in boarding it. Then ensued a desperate conflict. The English were in a fair way of capturing the galley, when the cable with which they had fastened their boat to it was severed. Those near enough jumped off and saved themselves. Sir Edward Howard, who, with the rest, was in another part of the ship, shouted, "Come aboard again! come aboard again!" But his comrades had no other cable or grappling-iron, and drifted away perforce. Then Howard took his admiral's whistle from his neck and flung it into the sea. The Frenchmen pressed round him, forced him with their morris pikes against the rails of the galley, and, when he was dead, he fell into the water to be seen no more. Presently, Sir Henry Shirborne and Sir William Sidney, with some others of Lord Ferrers' party, forced their way up the sides of the galley, hoping to rescue their master; but they could not find him. A mariner who had started in the first attack, and who stood faithfully by Howard to the last, managed to swim to one of the boats, in spite of eighteen wounds. It was from him and from a Spanish boy, who had watched the proceedings from a boat's side, that the English heard of their great mis-

fortune. "Jesu, have mercy!" wrote one of them, not very friendly hitherto towards Howard, to Cardinal Wolsey; "for now we be bodies without a head." "There was never noble man so ill lost as he was," said another of Wolsey's correspondents, uttering the sentiments of nearly all his comrades, "that was of so great courage and had so many virtues, and that ruled so great an army so well as he did, and kept so great order and true justice." Even James IV. of Scotland, though at war with Henry, wrote in condolence to him. "Surely, dearest brother," he said, "we think more loss is to you of the late Admiral, who deceased to his great honour, than the advantage might have been in winning all the French galleys."*

Henry was well aware of the extent of his loss; but he was not disposed to give up hope of capturing all the French galleys. Without delay he appointed Lord Thomas Howard to succeed his younger brother as Admiral of England, and bade him lose no time in avenging the brave man's death.† This, however, was more than Lord Thomas Howard could do. The sailors were so depressed by the misfortune, so badly off for food, and so troubled with sickness, that the fleet had returned to Plymouth before the new Admiral had received his patent; and before fresh supplies of men and victuals could be procured, the Frenchmen had moved out of Brest Harbour. Six weeks were wasted in

* *Cottonian MSS.*, Caligula E. i., p. 11, and D. vi., p. 107; ELLIS, First Series, vol. i., p. 76; HALL, fol. 23; HOLLINSHED, vol. iii., p. 574.

† BREWER, vol i., p. 557; GRAFTON, p. 962.

making good the deficiencies. Bishop Fox wrote to Wolsey, saying that the pursers of the ships deserved hanging for their negligence. Wolsey wrote to Howard, saying that the stores he had ordered for the fleet had been kept back "by some lewd persons that would not have the King's navy continue any longer on the sea."* The "lewd persons" attained their object. The English fleet did little more that summer or for some years after. Henry crossed over to Calais to take command of the land forces with which alone the war with France was carried on, while Lord Thomas Howard followed his father to Scotland, there to take part in the victory at Flodden Field. The father, having been made Duke of Norfolk for his conduct of that business, the son succeeded him as Earl of Surrey, and, as Earl of Surrey, during the time of peace with France, he was Lord Deputy of Ireland.

In these years, however, ship-building and the improvement of the navy were not forgotten. The trivial events of 1513 had shown that if the English were stronger than the French at sea, they were still very weak indeed. Therefore Henry VIII. and Wolsey continued their efforts in the direction of naval reform. They devised better ways of enlisting sailors and training them for zealous service. They sought out the best ways of fitting out ships for war, and paid great attention to the manufacture of guns and other fighting implements. They improved the old ships, and fashioned

* BREWER, vol. i., pp. 585, 590.

new ones upon the best models that could at that time be procured.

The building, between 1512 and 1514, of the *Henry Grace à Dieu* or *Great Harry*, namesake and successor of Henry VII.'s great ship, marks an epoch in the history of naval architecture. It was begun on the 3rd of October, 1512, and during the next twenty months, a hundred and forty-one of the cleverest shipwrights that could be procured were busy at its construction. Their wages amounted to 2,378*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*, besides the cost of their clothing, bedding, and food,* and the expense of other occasional labour. They made use of 1,752 tons of timber, which cost 437*l.* 17*s.* 7½*d.*; 408*l.* 19*s.* 7½*d.*'s worth of iron wrought and unwrought; 243*l.* 6*s.* 3½*d.*'s worth of brass, and 133*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*'s worth of coal. The expense of cordage amounted to 969*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*; in ox-hair, lime, and rosin, were expended 100*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; in blocks and pulleys, 63*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* The entire cost of building, including three small galleys to attend on the great ship, amounted to 7,708*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* The burthen of the great ship herself was 1,500 tons, so that she was half as large again as the largest vessel hitherto known in the English navy. She was arranged in seven tiers, one above another, and, as the Emperor Maximilian's ambassador reported, had "an incredible array of guns,

* They consumed 7,498 dozen loaves of bread, worth 370*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*; 1,543 pipes of beer, 526*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*; 557 beeves, 706*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*; 205 score of sheep, 32*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; 4,522 codfish, 87*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*; a goodly quantity of other flesh and fish, with a number of other articles, including only 7 barrels of butter, worth 4*l.* 6*s.*, and 30 weys of cheese, worth 19*l.* 4*s.*; the cost of the whole being 1,969*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*

with a scuttle on the top of the mainmast, eighty serpentes and hackbuts." Four hundred men were at work four days in dragging her from the building yard at Erith to Barking Creek.*

On the 13th of June, 1514, the King, with a stately company, including the Queen, the Princess Mary, the foreign ambassadors, several bishops, and a large number of noblemen, went down to christen this famous ship.

On the 25th of October, 1515, King Henry was again at Greenwich, christening another great vessel. "Those who were in the galley, dining with the King of England," wrote the French envoy to his sovereign, "have told me for certain that there are in the said galley two hundred and seven pieces of artillery, large as well as small, of which seventy are of copper and cast, and the rest of iron, with four or five thousand bullets and four or five hundred barrels of powder. The galley is propelled by six score oars, and is so large that it will hold eight hundred or a thousand fighting men. The King of England acted as master of the galley, wearing a sailor's coat and trousers of frieze cloth of gold. He had on a thick chain, in which were five links, and amongst the same there were three plates of gold, on which was written as a device, 'Dieu et mon droit;' and at the bottom of the said chain was a large whistle, with which he whistled almost as loud as a trumpet or clarionet. Mass was sung on board by the Bishop of Durham, and the galley was named by Queen Mary *The Virgin Mary*."

* BREWER, vol. i., pp. 828, 839 ; CHARNOCK, vol. ii., p. 28.

The Frenchman was not well pleased with this show of warlike strength and grandeur. "I went immediately," he says, "to my lord the Duke of Suffolk. He told me that it was true that the King of England had made an appearance of preparing himself for war, and for this cause had got ready a small number of ships: but this he had done solely to content his subjects, who desired in my master's absence that England should go to war with him; but the King of England had no such inclination." Then the agent went to Wolsey, who was at Westminster. "I told him," he proceeds, "that if he and the King of England thought that the King my master, at his departure into Italy, had not left his kingdom strong and powerful, they had been greatly deceived; yet, at the same time, the King had never thought to invade his country, and make war upon him in his absence. On this he laid his hand on his breast, and swore to me that the King his master had never thought of such a thing, nor his Council; and as for the ships which he had prepared during this time, and chiefly his great galley, that was done solely to give pleasure and pastime to the Queen and the Queen Mary his sister."*

Wolsey might swear and Suffolk protest that Henry's ship-building meant no harm to France; but it was clear to all the world that these preparations were meant for much more than the pleasure and pastime of queens and courtiers. The preparations continued, and year by year the English navy grew in strength.

* BREWER, vol. ii., pp. xlvii—1.

Better vessels were built, and better furniture was put in them. Improvements were steadily made in naval tactics, and full advantage was taken of the lessons taught by experience as to the training and employment of seamen and sea-going soldiers. The result was great credit to England, and great advancement of English influence over the politics of Europe.

But in actual warfare very little was done that is worth recording. Down to the close of Henry's reign the attitude of the navy was chiefly passive: for the most part it was only a deterrent power, and a warning against invasion. Its principal occupation was in the punishment of pirates, and in damaging the enemy's trading operations, which in those days were held akin to piracy, and often were hardly distinguishable from it. During Lord Thomas Howard's long service as High Admiral there were numerous actions similar to the capture of Andrew Barton's ships, by which he and his brother Edward had made themselves famous. Often, too, the fleets were employed in scouring the seas and devastating the alien coast, after the fashion of Sir Edward's achievements on the shores and in the adjoining districts of Brittany. But till near the close of Henry's reign, there was no sea fight at all comparable to that in which the *Regent* and the *Cordelier* were destroyed in 1512. Even in 1522, when Thomas Howard, then Earl of Surrey, bearing an admiral's commission from the Emperor Charles V. as well as from Henry VIII., commanded a fleet of nearly two hundred vessels, his chief work was in landing troops

in Normandy, and thus aiding the land warfare with France.

The navy was still in its infancy, consisting of a few royal ships, built especially for fighting, and of numerous smaller craft, designed for merchandize, and only turned into war ships as occasion required. The men employed in these vessels also had little save bravery in common with the servants in modern ships of war. The sailors and their masters were fishermen, merchants' apprentices, and often merchants themselves. The fighting men were land-soldiers, rarely at their ease in naval warfare, and always much more useful in the sort of fighting for which they had been trained, if indeed they also were not raw recruits, practised only in such use of weapons as was in those days common with every Englishman. Even the superior officers were generally landsmen. Lord Thomas Howard, as we saw, varied his employment as admiral with service at the battle of Flodden and civil government in Ireland; and in later years, succeeding his father as Duke of Norfolk, he succeeded him also as Lord Treasurer, to which he added other work as a military commander, an ambassador, and a domestic statesman.

Howard outlived his master and his master's son, Edward VI. He died in the first year of Queen Mary's reign, seventy-six years old. A crowd of men acquired under him their share of fame, about which posterity need not trouble itself, as sea-captains. The most notable of them was Sir William Fitzwilliams, who was wounded in the battle with the French off Brest in

1513, who succeeded Howard as High Admiral, became Earl of Southampton in 1536, and died in 1542, while on his way to fight the Scots.

The last of Henry VIII.'s High Admirals, then gaining influence in the State as Viscount Lisle, was the great Duke of Northumberland, who became virtually King of England during Edward VI.'s sovereignty. He was first mover in the sea-fighting with which, after thirty years of trifling work, the naval history of Henry's reign was brought to a close.

After Wolsey's disgrace and death, in spite of the zealous efforts of Lord Thomas Cromwell, the navy had fallen into some decay. Peace having been made with France in 1527, there was little even of desultory fighting for ten years.*

In 1537 began preparations for another war. There was fresh energy in ship-building and fortifying. New

* Evidence of the way in which, during these years, other nations brought their warfare into English seas is in a letter which John Arundel wrote to Cromwell in 1536:—"There came into Falmouth Haven a fleet of Spaniards," he says, "and the day after came four ships of Dieppe, men-of-war, and the Spaniards shot into the Frenchmen, and the Frenchmen into the Spaniards, and during three hours great guns shot between them, and the Frenchmen were glad to come higher up the haven; and the morrow after, Saint Paul's Day, the Spaniards came up to assault the Frenchmen, and the Frenchmen came up almost to the town of Truro, and went aground there. I went to the admiral of the Spaniards and commanded him to keep the King's peace, and not follow further; but the Spaniard would not, but said, 'I will have them, or I will die for it.' And then the Spaniards put their ordnance in their boats and shot the French admiral forty or sixty shot during a long hour, the gentlemen of that city taking pleasure at it. Then I went to the Spaniards and told them to leave their shooting or I would raise the country upon them. And so the Spaniards left."—*State Paper MS.*, cited by FROUDE, *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 248.

batteries were set up at St. Michael's Mount, at Falmouth, at Fowey, at Plymouth, at Dartmouth, at Torbay, at Portland, at Cowes, and at Portsmouth;* and castles were built or strengthened at Dover, Deal, Sandwich, Hull, Scarborough, Newcastle, and Berwick. Having hitherto shrewdly increased the importance of England by keeping up the feud between France and Scotland on the one hand and Spain and Germany on the other, Henry now found himself in danger of attack by the united forces of Catholic Europe. "I have heard," wrote the English ambassador in Flanders to Cromwell, "that the French King, the Bishop of Rome, and the King of the Scots be in league to invade us this summer, and how the Emperor will send to their aid certain Spaniards."† Great preparations were made to withstand this invasion, in the course of which, we are told, King Henry himself "made very laborious and painful journeys towards the sea-coast;" and enough was done to frighten away a fleet of about two hundred and seventy sail, which left Antwerp in April, and made warlike show off Dover.

There was no real fighting till 1545. Then, another French invasion being expected, a formidable fleet

* "The town of Portsmouth," said LELAND in 1548, "is walled from the east tower a furlong's length, with a mud wall armed with brass ordnance, and this piece of the wall, having a ditch without it, runs so far flat south south-east, and is the place most apt to defend the town, there open on the haven. There runs a ditch almost flat east for a space, and within it is a wall of mud like to the other, and then goes on round about the town for the circuit of a mile. There is a gate of timber at the north-east end of the town, and by it there is cast up a hill of earth ditched, whereon be guns to defend the entry into the town by land."—*Itinerary*.

† *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, edited by LEMON, vol. viii., p. 167.

was prepared under the guidance of Lord Lisle, and with much personal supervision from the King himself. The French fleet, under the command of Admiral D'Annebault, comprised twenty-five galleys, a hundred and fifty large ships, and fifty smaller vessels and transports. In the English fleet there were a hundred and four vessels of war and merchantmen fitted up for warlike use, with 12,738 men of all sorts on board.*

Lord Lisle put to sea on the 15th of June, intending to anticipate the invasion by sailing boldly up to the mouth of the Seine, and there attacking the French shipping in its moorings. But a tempest drove him back, and he was waiting in Portsmouth Harbour, when, on the 18th of July, while the King was reviewing the forces, balefires on the cliff above Ventnor gave warning that the Frenchmen were in sight. D'Annebault anchored in Brading Harbour, and along the coast towards Ryde. Lisle arranged his ships in warlike order, almost within gunshot, at Spithead. Next morning anchors were weighed and the guns were put to use. For an hour the French had the advantage. There was no wind to fill the English sails, and the French galleys made great havoc. The *Great Harry* was almost sunk, and many others of the English vessels were partially disabled. The threatened defeat

* *State Papers. Henry VIII.*, edited by LEMON, vol. i., p. 810. The English fleet was manned in great part by the bold fishermen of the neighbourhood, whose customary work had therefore to be undertaken by their wives. "The women of the fishers' towns," wrote Lord Russell, "eight or nine of them, with but one boy or one man with them, adventure to sail a-fishing, sixteen or twenty miles to sea, and are sometimes chased home by the Frenchmen."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 828.

was averted, however, by a kindly breeze from the west, which enabled Lord Lisle to advance against the enemy, to disperse their ships, and while he damaged many of them, to drive many others within reach of the guns that surmounted the earthworks around Portsmouth. The Frenchmen retreated before very much mischief had been done to them, and Lord Lisle, satisfied with his easy victory, returned to his anchorage at Spithead.

The victory was marred by one heavy disaster. The *Mary Rose*—the same vessel of six hundred tons burthen which, when it was newly built two-and-thirty years before, Sir Edward Howard declared to be “the noblest ship of sail in Christendom, the flower of all ships that ever sailed”—had done good service during the early part of the action. That its guns might be worked more efficiently, they had been removed from their fastenings and pointed full upon the attacking galleys of France. When the west wind suddenly arose, the *Mary Rose* tilted to the leeward, all the guns rolled together on one side, and so overbalanced the vessel that the sea poured in at her open portholes and sunk her, with four hundred men on board. It was an accident precisely similar to that which, two hundred and thirty-seven years later, befel the *Royal George* in the same waters. A like mischance also happened to a French treasure-ship, *La Maîtresse*, though so near to Brading Haven that the wrecked vessel, its crew, and its money-chest were brought on shore.

The French and English fleets met again on the 15th

of August, when D'Annebault having returned to the English coast, and done some damage to Brighton and the adjoining towns, was met by Lisle off Shoreham and forced to retire, after some desultory and unimportant fighting. After that, the war was suspended for the summer, and the peace that was concluded in June, 1546, put a stop to any further contest during the short remainder of Henry's reign, and for many years ensuing. Save in the loss of the *Mary Rose*, great credit was brought to English seamanship at a very trifling cost of life. The expenditure in money, judged by modern standards, was also tolerably insignificant. Of the 1,300,000*l.*, however, which Henry spent during two years in preparation for this naval war, only 300,000*l.* were met by the subsidy and benevolence which Parliament granted for the purpose. The rest had to be obtained with not a little difficulty, by pawning some of the crown lands, melting down much of the royal plate and turning it into coin, procuring loans from Flemish merchants at exorbitant interest, and other ignoble devices.*

Yet it was by such devices, and in succession to such trivial fightings as we have noticed, that Henry VIII. prepared the way for the greatness of England as a maritime power.

* *State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 789, 790, 814—830 ; vol. x., p. 468. It is worth noting that, during this brief war, the watchword used, for the first time apparently, was "God save King Henry!" with "Long to reign over us" for its answer—words that were afterwards incorporated in the national anthem.

CHAPTER IV.

SEBASTIAN CABOT'S LATER WORK.

[1527—1557.]

WHILE Henry VIII., in his devotion to maritime affairs, paid almost exclusive attention to the development of shipping as a means of war and to the encouragement of military seamanship, the more adventurous of his subjects were not unmindful of those projects for distant voyaging and discovery which John Cabot and his friends had first made popular, and to which fresh interest came with every new report of the brilliant progress of Spanish colonization. By Papal mandate and the consent of nations, the more accessible parts of America were reserved to the people who, under Columbus's leadership, had gone westward to possess the Indies. Englishmen, if they would share in the fabled riches of Cathay, or in the substantial treasures to be found on the way to it, must seek some other channel; and this they were resolved to do in spite of the unproductive nature of the elder Cabot's labours. While Sebastian Cabot gave himself up, for a time and to a great extent at any rate, to the service of Spain, they continued their endeavours in the course

he had at first pursued, and were led by those endeavours to embark in other enterprises very helpful to the maritime advancement of their nation.

The first of these endeavours, in Henry's reign, was made by Robert Thorne, a native of Bristol and a merchant of London. His father had been connected with John Cabot in his schemes for reaching Cathay. He himself, when carrying on his trade in Seville during some time previous to 1527, had made or renewed acquaintance with Sebastian Cabot, and out of that arose in him fresh interest in the projects that had been the delight of his boyhood. To the La Plata expedition which Cabot headed, in the interests of Spain, in 1526, he contributed fourteen hundred ducats, "principally," as he said, "for that two English friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in cosmography, should go in the same ships, to bring me certain relation of the country and to be expert in the navigation of those seas."* Early in 1527, having been written to by Dr. Lee, Henry VIII.'s ambassador at the Court of Charles V., for information about Cathayan exploration, he replied in a learned treatise, discussing the various efforts made by the nations of Europe in the way of American colonization and discovery, and strongly urging a revival of English participation in the work. This treatise was followed by a letter from Thorne to King Henry himself, and by Thorne's return to England, in company with Dr. Lee, with the avowed object of further setting forth his recommendations.

* HAKLEYT, *Divers Voyages*, p. 215.

“ It is my bounden duty,” said the merchant, in bold satire, in his letter to the King, “ to reveal this secret to your Grace, which hitherto, I suppose, hath been hid ; which is, that with a small number of ships there may be discovered new lands and kingdoms, in the which, without doubt, your Grace shall win perpetual glory and your subjects infinite profit.” As peace had just been made with France, Thorne urged that the present time was especially convenient for Henry to fulfil the natural desire and bounden duty of all wise monarchs in respect of increasing their dominions. “ The world knows,” he said, “ that the desires of princes have been so fervent that, to obtain their purpose, they have in a manner turned the world up and down.” But rarely had any prince such an easy opportunity of doing his share in turning the world up and down as was now offered to King Henry. The southern, eastern, and western quarters of the world were already occupied, and any interference with them must be attended with great bloodshed and great waste of treasure ; but the northern parts still waited for a possessor. They would certainly bring to their fortunate owner immense wealth and vast increase of power, and it was clear that, by the goodness of God, they had been reserved for England. If there had been failure in the previous undertakings, conducted by the Cabots, the experience of thirty years had suggested remedies. “ Concerning the mariners, ships and provision, an order may be taken much better than heretofore : the labour is much less, the danger and the way shorter, to

us than to Spain and Portugal. Concerning the navigation, it is very clear and evident that the seas that commonly men say that, without very great danger, difficulty and peril, it is impossible to pass, those same seas be navigable, and without any such danger but that ships may pass, and have in them perpetual clearness of the day, without any darkness of the night; which thing is a great commodity for the navigants to see at all times round about, as well the safeguards as the dangers." In that region of perpetual daylight, about the North Pole, there would be ice and coldness, it was true; but Thorne urged that those obstacles would soon be overpassed, and then the voyagers would have open sea and temperate climate for all the rest of their way. Dangers and darkness had not hindered the Spaniards and Portuguese from discovering strange realms to their great advantage; and if Englishmen were deterred on these accounts, said the merchant, "it will seem your Grace's subjects to be without activity or courage, in leaving to do this glorious and noble enterprise."

Thorne proposed that an expedition should sail from England in a north-westerly direction till it reached the shores visited by John Cabot just thirty years before, and then proceed northwards till it had passed out of the icy region into the warmer climate which he believed to be in the neighbourhood of the North Pole. "Then," he proceeded, "it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners to choose whether they will sail by the coasts that be cold, temperate, or hot. If they will go towards the orient, they shall enjoy the regions of all

the Tartarians that extend towards the mid-day, and from thence they may go and proceed towards the land of the Chinese, and from thence to the land of Cathay Oriental; and if from thence they do continue their navigation, following the coast that returns towards the occident, they shall fall in Malacca and so in all the Indies we call Oriental; and following that way they may return hither by the Cape of Good Hope, and thus they shall compass the whole world. And if they shall take their course, after they be passed the Pole, towards the occident, they shall go in the back-side and south seas of the Indies Occidental, and so they may return through the Straits of Magellan to this country, and so compass the world that way. And if they go right towards the Pole Antarctic, and then decline towards the lands and islands situated between the Tropics and under the Equinoctial, without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands in the world, of gold, precious stones, balms, spices, and other things that we here most esteem." Thus by each of the three routes which it was possible to take—the three routes which Thorne was the first to describe and which all later Arctic voyagers have attempted to follow or to improve upon only in detail—sure success was promised. "By this it appeareth," said Thorne in the conclusion of his argument, "that your Grace shall have not only a great advantage of riches, but also your subjects shall not travel half of the way that others do which go round about as aforesaid."*

* HAKLUYT, *Divers Voyages*, pp. 212—219.

These fair promises—broken a hundred times as generation after generation of Arctic adventurers was tempted by them to embark upon an enterprise whose history is without a parallel for its constant course of failure and for the excellent benefit that resulted, in spite of and even in consequence of the failure, to the English character for pluck and perseverance—were broken for the first time in the very year in which they were uttered. Henry VIII. listened to them, and in the summer of 1527 sent out “two fair ships, having in them divers cunning men, to seek strange regions;” and among the cunning men was a Canon of Saint Paul’s, “a wealthy man and a great mathematician,” whose name has not come down to us. The ships were the *Mary of Guildford*, of which John Rut was captain, and the *Sampson*. They left Plymouth on the 10th of June, and sailed bravely up to old John Cabot’s New-found-land, which they reached on the 21st of July. Thence they proceeded a little further north; but they soon lost heart. “We found many great islands of ice and deep water,” as Captain Rut said in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, “but we found no sounding, and then we durst go no further to the northward for fear of more ice.” While seeking for some place of safety, the ships were parted by a storm, and the *Sampson* was never heard of afterwards. The *Mary of Guildford* sought her for ten days, and then her mariners, believing that she was wrecked, and fearing that they also would be lost if they waited any longer in the region of ice, turned back and put into a harbour of the New-found-land, and

thence, after making some further search for their missing comrades, came back to England in October.*

That, as far as we know, was the last experiment in Arctic voyaging made by Henry VIII. Of the private enterprises conducted during his reign very little is recorded. There is only one about which any details at all have come down to us, and many of these details are hardly credible. The chief promoter of this expedition was one Master Hore, of London, a lawyer who dabbled in cosmography, and, with more zeal than wisdom, sought to emulate the projects of the Cabots. In 1536 he so far interested others in his views that, with the assistance of several gentlemen of the Inns of Court and other people of substance, and with King Henry's sanction, he managed to leave Gravesend at the end of April in charge of two ships, the *Trinity*, of 140 tons burthen, and the *Minion*, which was somewhat smaller. His crew comprised thirty gentlemen "of good worship," and seventy persons of meaner sort. This company sailed westward, with a curve to the south, and after two months' voyaging, touched land for the first time near Cape Breton Isle. Passing thence towards the north-east they arrived at an island which they called the Isle of Penguins, because it was well stocked with great fowls, apparently our Newfoundland, which earlier voyagers, delighted with its store of fish, had called the Isle of Cod or Baccalaos, and different

* PURCHAS, *His Pilgrims*, vol. iii., p. 809; HAKLUYT, *Voyages* (copying from Hall and Grafton), vol. iii., p. 129. The accounts are contradictory and both extremely meagre.

from the mainland of Labrador, which was John Cabot's New-found-land. They had great enjoyment from the birds and birds' eggs which they found upon this island. They also saw and killed a number of black and white bears, and "took them for no bad food." It is likely that they idled here too long, and wasted the provisions that should have been husbanded for the time when they had really entered on their Arctic voyaging. At any rate, in leaving Newfoundland, they left all their good fortune behind them.

They sailed northwards along the coast of Labrador, and gave chase to a few natives who came out in a boat to look at them. But when their stores were exhausted, and they were forced to land in search of food, they found nothing to eat. Ice-covered rocks and huge pine-forests were before them and around them, but no food, and no natives of whom food, by fair means or foul, could be procured. At last they were reduced to such straits, that, according to the testimony of one of the party, when they wandered about in the woods, two and two together, in search of anything that could satisfy their hunger, it often happened that "one fellow killed his mate while he stooped to take up a root for his relief, and, cutting out pieces of his body, whom he had murdered, broiled the same on the coals and greedily devoured them." Once one of the party, discovering a smell of cooked flesh about a comrade, reproved him for having food and not sharing it with his friends. "If thou would needs know," answered the man, "the broiled meat that I had was a piece of such a man's

buttock." The captain exhorted his comrades to abstain from such foul practices, to have patience, and to trust in God. But even he had to give way to the cravings of hunger and agree to a plan for deciding by lot who of the party should be eaten, when a way of escape was opened. "Such was the mercy of God," says the survivor who told the tale, "that, the same night, arrived a French vessel, well victualled; and such was the policy of the English, that they became masters of the same." With the stolen vessel those who were left of the party made their way back to England in October. The Frenchmen followed them in the vessels that Hore's company had deserted, and claimed restitution of their goods; whereupon King Henry, we are told, "was so moved with pity for his subjects' distress, that he punished them not, but with his own purse made full and royal recompense to the French."*

That is the story of Hore's expedition as it has come down to us from the report of one of the mariners. It is clearly exaggerated in parts, and we may fairly hope that the account of cannibalism is a traveller's apocryphal tale. It is evident, however, that the expedition failed utterly, and it seems to have been followed by no other attempts at Arctic voyaging during Henry's reign.

Very soon after Edward VI.'s accession there was famous renewal of the work. Fresh energy came with Sebastian Cabot's return to England in 1548. Six-and-thirty years before, not liking Henry's treatment of him, he had gone to Spain, and, with the exception of the

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 129—131.

enterprise in which, in 1517, he had embarked with Sir Thomas Spert, he had been a servant of Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles the Great all through that time. King Henry's death induced him, at the age of seventy-seven, to come back to the land of his birth, and he was honourably received by Edward VI. and his subjects. The young King made him Grand Pilot of England, with a salary of 166*l.* a year and general supervision of the maritime affairs of the country;* and important work was at once found for him in settlement of the disputes, long growing, that had just then reached their height, between the German merchants of the Steelyard, a colony of foreign traders existing during a dozen generations in the heart of London, and the company of the Merchant Adventurers of England. For his good offices in this matter he received a reward of 200*l.* from the Crown in 1551.† There are records of other services performed by him, throughout King Edward VI.'s brief reign, in the interests of commerce and navigation.‡

But, though an old man of fourscore years, he was as young as ever in devotion to the projects that had occupied his youth. In 1552 he took advantage of the great stagnation of trade which just then was resulting from the disturbed condition and warlike attitude of Europe. "Our merchants," says one of his friends, "perceived the commodities and wares of England to be

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 10; RYMER, vol. xv., p. 427.

† STRYPE, *Historical Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 495.

‡ BIDDLE, *Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 176, &c.

in small request with the countries and people about us and near unto us, and that those merchandizes which strangers in the time and memory of our ancestors did earnestly seek and desire were now neglected and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their own ports." Accordingly, "certain grave citizens of London and men of great wisdom and careful for the good of their country, began to think with themselves how this mischief might be remedied." In their trouble they took counsel with Cabot, and, "after much speech and conference together," were induced by him to make another effort "for the search and discovery of the northern part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for travel to new and unknown kingdoms."*

The notion at once obtained great favour in England. A "Mystery and Company of Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown," was straightway formed, with two hundred and forty subscribers of 25*l.* apiece, and Sebastian Cabot for its Governor; and immediate steps were taken for putting to good use the 6,000*l.* thus collected. Skilful shipwrights were employed in constructing, out of the best seasoned oak that could be procured, three vessels as strong as in those days it was possible to make them. These vessels were sheeted with lead, at that time a novel expedient for protection from worms, well supplied with every kind of necessary furniture, and stocked with an abundant store of suitable

* CLEMENT ADAMS, cited by EDEN, *Decades of the New World*, fol. 256.

provisions, enough to last through eighteen months of voyaging.*

The next care was to bring together a competent crew, and place it under the charge of efficient captains. Many ignorant persons, we are told, clamoured for the leadership. But Cabot and his merchant-counsellors wisely chose men fitted for the work. Among the common sailors were some who afterwards distinguished themselves in maritime history,—William Burrows, who wrote a work on navigation, and became Comptroller of the Navy, and Arthur Pet, in especial. Stephen Burrough, who in due time rose to fill the place then held by Cabot as Chief Pilot of England, after engaging in several later voyages of discovery, was master of the largest vessel. The supreme command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, whose previous career is unknown to us, but who commended himself to his contemporaries as “a most valiant gentleman and wellborn,” of excellent stature, and famous for “his singular skill in the services of war.”† In courage and generous bearing, at any rate, he proved worthy of the trust placed in him; but a yet better man, as it seems, was Richard Chancellor, the second in command. He had been brought up in the household of Sir Henry Sidney, Edward VI.’s dearest friend, the father of Sir Philip Sidney, and the son of that Sir William Sidney who was associated with Sir Edward Howard in his naval fighting in 1513.

* CLEMENT ADAMS, cited by EDEN, *Decades of the New World*, fol. 256.

† *Ibid.*

Chancellor had already distinguished himself in seafaring, having in 1550 gone with one Roger Bodenhams on a trading expedition to the Levant.* Cabot had discerned his worth, and helped him in his studies of cosmography.† He was chosen to his present post at the recommendation of Sidney, who made a speech before the council of merchants which is worth listening to.

“My very worshipful friends,” he said, “I cannot but greatly commend your present godly and virtuous intention in the serious enterprising, for the singular love you bear to your country, in a matter which, I hope, will prove profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours we also of the nobility are ready, to our power, to help and further; neither do we hold anything so dear and precious unto us, which we will not willingly forego and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I rejoyce in myself, that I have nourished and maintained that wit which is like, by some means and in some measure, to profit and speed you in this worthy action. But yet I would not have you ignorant of this one thing, that I do now part with Chancellor, not because I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdensome and chargeable unto me, but that you may conceive and understand my goodwill and promptitude for the furtherance of this business, and that the authority and estimation which he deserveth may be given him. You know the man by report, I by experience; you by

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., p. 99.

† EDEN, fol. 357.

words, I by deeds ; you by speech and company, but I by the daily trial of his life have a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember into how many perils, for your sakes and his country's love, he has now to run ; whereof it is requisite that we be not unmindful, if it please God to send him good success. We commit a little money to the chance and hazard of fortune ; he commits his life, a blessing to a man of all things the most dear, to the raging sea and the uncertainties of many dangers. We shall here live and rest at home quietly with our friends and acquaintances ; but he in the meantime, labouring to keep the ignorant and unruly mariners in good order and obedience, with how many cares shall he trouble and vex himself ? with how many troubles shall he break himself ? and how many disquietings shall he be forced to sustain ? We shall keep our own coasts and country ; he shall seek strange and unknown kingdoms. He shall commit his safety to barbarous and cruel people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beasts of the sea. Wherefore, in respect of the greatness of the dangers and the excellency of his charge, you are to favour and love the man thus departing from us, and, if it fall so happily out that he return again, it is your part and duty also liberally to reward him.”*

What Sir Henry Sidney thought of Richard Chancellor, all England thought of the expedition of which Willoughby and Chancellor were the leaders. After nearly

* EDEN, fol. 256.

a year spent in preparations, all things were ready for its departure in May, 1553. The little fleet consisted of three vessels, the *Bona Esperanza*, Willoughby's ship, of 120 tons burthen, the *Edward Bonaventure*, with Richard Chancellor for its captain, of 160 tons, and the *Bona Confidentia*, of 90 tons, each with a pinnace and boat attached to it. The company comprised a hundred and fifteen officers and men of all grades, including eleven merchants and one parson.* Willoughby was provided with several copies of a curious letter written by Edward VI. to "the kings, princes, and other potentates inhabiting the north-east part of the world, towards the mighty empire of Cathay," written in Latin, Greek, and other languages, proposing alliance with them, and asking permission for the passage of his servants through their dominions.† He was also furnished with an elaborate series of instructions, which were to be read aloud in each ship once a week for the guidance of both officers and seamen. In these strict obedience was enjoined, and absolute authority in enforcing it was given to the superior officers. It was especially ordered, "that no blaspheming of God or detestable swearing be used in any ship, nor communication of ribaldry, filthy tales, or ungodly talk;" and "that neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other devilish games be frequented, whereby ensueth not only poverty to the players, but also strife, variance, brawling, fighting, and oftentimes murder, to the utter destruction of the parties, and provoking of God's most just wrath and

* HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 258.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258.

sword of vengeance." Morning and evening prayers, with other services, were to be used by the crew ; but, in dealing with any strangers they might meet, they were "not to disclose the state of our religion, but to pass it over in silence, without any declaration of it, seeming to bear with such laws and rights as the place hath." The mariners were to make every effort to understand the natures and dispositions of the people, and men and women were to be tempted, "without violence or force," to visit the English ships ; "the persons so taken to be well entertained, used and apparelled, to the intent that he or she may allure others to draw nigh to show the commodities ; and if the person taken be made drunk with your beer or wine," it was slyly added, "you may know the secrets of his heart." On the whole, however, a very high morality was enjoined, and very worthy objects were enforced.*

The little fleet sailed from Deptford on the 10th of May. On the 11th it passed Greenwich, where the Court was staying. Edward VI. could not come out to honour it with his further sanction, as he then lay on his death-bed ; but the courtiers ran out and crowded with the common people to cheer it as it passed, and the ships sent forth a peal of ordnance, with the noise of which was joined the merry shouting of the sailors. Hardly had they passed Harwich, however, before Chancellor discovered that part of the victuals provided for their use were already rotten, and that many of the hogsheads of wine were leaking, and he feared that the

* HAKLUYT, vol. i., pp. 251-255.

food would not last out the voyage. "His natural and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him," we are told; "for he left behind him his two little sons, which were in the case of orphans if he sped not well."* But that thought was not allowed to hinder him, and it was feared that, if they turned back for fresh provisions, the summer would be too far gone for them to do anything that year. So they hastened on.

The plan appointed by Cabot was for Willoughby and his company to sail northward past the coast of Norway, and thence to proceed as nearly due east as they could until they had passed the whole northern coast of Asia and were able to turn southward and make their way to what was supposed to be the empire of Cathay, really the north-eastern part of China. This was thought to be a better route than that attempted long before by Cabot and his father, or the new one specially recommended by Robert Thorne, in 1527, which was to take the voyagers straight across the North Pole and bring them out on the other side of the globe.

Willoughby followed his directions as far as he was able. He reached the Luffoden Isles on the 2nd of August, and sailed on past the North Cape, intending to enter a harbour on the borders of Lapland, and there wait for a pilot who, the people of the district told him, would be able to help him on his way. "But when we would have entered the harbour," he said, in his journal. "there came such flaws of wind and terrible whirl-

* EDEN, fol. 257.

winds, that we were not able to bear in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea again. And that night, by violence of wind and thickness of mists, we were not able to keep together within sight, and then about midnight we lost our pinnace, which was a discomfort to us." Next morning, the fog being dispersed, Willoughby discovered the *Bona Confidentia*; but the *Edward Bonaventure*, which was Chancellor's ship, was nowhere to be seen. The Admiral therefore, after making a vain search, determined to proceed with the two smaller vessels.

He sailed due east, and on the 14th of August reached the coast of Nova Zembla.* Thence he proceeded northwards for three days. But, on the 18th, finding no harbour in which he could repair some damage that had been done to the *Bona Confidentia*, and being prevented from further voyaging in the same direction by a heavy wind that set in from the north-east, he turned back and sailed southwards and then westward. He seems to have lost heart, or at any rate to have concluded that it was impossible to proceed further on the route to Cathay without repairing his ships and obtaining fresh supplies of food. He sailed slowly back, keeping as near to the main land as he could, vainly looking for a suitable harbour at which to put in, until, on the

* Mr. RUNDALL, in his *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society, 1849), pp. iv—xii, has clearly shown that the point here reached by Willoughby was Nova Zembla, and not Spitzbergen, as has been generally asserted. Dr. BEKE has given further proof of this in his *Three Voyages by the North-East towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch* (Hakluyt Society, 1853).

18th of September, he reached the same point at which he had been separated from Chancellor six weeks before. This was a small haven on the coast of Lapland, near the mouth of the Warsina. "This haven," we read on the last page of Willoughby's journal, "runneth in the main about two leagues, and is in breadth half a league, wherein were very many seal fishes and other great fishes, and upon the main we saw bears, great deer, foxes, with divers strange beasts, as gulloines"—apparently elks—"and such other which were to us unknown and also wonderful. Thus remaining in this haven the space of a week, seeing the year far spent, and also very evil weather, as frost, snow, and hail, we thought best to winter there." He and the sixty men who were with him never left it. Two years afterwards, later travellers found their bones, their papers, and other remains, with evidence that some of them at any rate, Willoughby among the number, were alive in January, 1554. It would seem that they died of cold and hunger.*

Thus miserably perished the main hope of Sebastian Cabot's north-eastern expedition. Richard Chancellor was more fortunate. His ship having been separated from the other two during the storm of the 2nd of August, he went, according to the instructions that had been issued in anticipation of such a mischance, to Wardhus, the easternmost point of Norway. There he waited for seven days, and then, believing that the others had been lost, set out alone upon the projected voyage. Some

* HAKLUYT, vol. i., pp. 258—263; PURCHAS, vol. iii., p. 463.

Scotch traders whom he met at Wardhus, it is recorded by the friend to whom he described his adventures, "began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discovery, by amplifying the dangers which he was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serve to that purpose ; but he, holding nothing so ignominious and reproachful as inconstancy and levity of mind, and persuading himself that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part than for fear of danger to avoid and shun great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots." Most of his crew desired to go home, but all agreed to submit to his orders. Therefore they sailed on, in what precise direction we are not informed, until they came to "a place where they found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea." If that report be true, they must have gone far north and entered the region of the long arctic day. But in that case, they turned back again. The first place which we know them to have visited was in the neighbourhood of the White Sea. They entered it and made friends with the natives. These natives treated them kindly, and sent a messenger to their Emperor to inform him of "the arrival of a strange nation." Without delay, the Emperor of Muscovy sent to invite Chancellor to Moscow. He went thither, was courteously entertained, made close observation of the habits of the people, and effected a commercial treaty with the Emperor. The prospects of new trade thus opened,

and the long delay consequent on his visit to Moscow, induced him to abandon for the present any further voyaging to the east, and to go home at once with the letter of friendship to Edward VI. that had been entrusted to him by the Emperor, and with many substantial proofs of the good work he had done.*

The loss of Willoughby and two of the three ships sent with him, and Chancellor's success in Russia, induced the Merchant Adventurers who had fitted out the expedition to alter their purposes. "The discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown," was given up, and the association became, by a charter of Queen Mary, dated February, 1555, "The Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades," afterwards better known as The Muscovy or Russia Company. Nearly every year one or more expeditions, important from a commercial point of view, were despatched, and work of geographical importance was done in exploration of the northern coast of Russia. The most memorable of these was a voyage made by Stephen Burrough, who had been master of the *Edward Bonaventure* under Willoughby, and who was now captain of the *Searchthrift*, for discovery in the direction of the river Oby. He examined the southern parts of Nova Zembla, and went very near to the mouth of the Oby, when the impenetrable ice drove him back. In 1580, Arthur Pet, another of Willoughby's followers, visited the same regions, and was driven back by the

* CLEMENT ADAMS, cited by EDEN; also in HAKLUYT.

same cause. After that, no noteworthy attempt at finding a north-eastern passage to the Indies was attempted by Englishmen under the Tudors.

Richard Chancellor made one other journey to Russia. Returning to England in November, 1556, with the first Russian ambassador to the English court for his passenger, his ship, the same *Edward Bonaventure* in which he had made his first voyage, was driven ashore by a storm at Pitsligo, in the north of Scotland, and there dashed in pieces among the rocks. Chancellor, "using all carefulness for the safety of the body of the ambassador and his train," placed the foreigners in the ship's boat as soon as the wreck appeared imminent, and sought to convey them at once to land. But, says the chronicler, "the same boat, by rigorous waves of the seas, was by dark night overwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the body of the said Grand Pilot, with seven Russes, but also divers of the mariners of the ship; the noble personage of the ambassador, with a few others, by God's preservation and special favour, only with much difficulty saved." * So that, after all, Chancellor's "two little sons" were "in the case of orphans."

Sebastian Cabot did not long survive his young disciple. At the institution of the Muscovy Company, he was appointed its Governor for life, as being "the chiefest setter forth of the enterprise;" and Stephen Burrough, in his account of his voyage in the *Search-thrift*, tells how "the good old gentleman, Master

* HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 286.

Cabot, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen," went to Gravesend to inspect the ship previous to its departure. "Master Cabot," adds Burrough, "gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the *Searchthrift*; and then, at the sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and, for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God." *

With that pleasant view of Cabot giving alms and dancing, at the age of eighty-four, to show his sympathy with the adventurers in that work of arctic discovery to which his long life had been devoted, we almost lose sight of him. He appears never to have been in favour with Queen Mary and her Spanish husband, who owed him an old grudge for withdrawing himself from the service of Spain; and it is supposed to have been in an outburst of royal spite that he was forced, on the 27th of May, 1557, to resign his appointment as Grand Pilot of England,† and only allowed two days afterwards to resume it in partnership with a William Worthington.‡ Cabot's old age may have been sufficient reason for this change; but friends of English enterprise declared that in Worthington's ap-

* HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 274.

† RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. xv., p. 427.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

pointment the office of Grand Pilot, "to the great hindrance of the commonwealth, was miserably turned to private uses."* Posterity, at any rate, owes no gratitude to William Worthington. He seems to have done nothing in the interests of commerce and navigation; and by him, or those to whom he confided them, were lost all the charts and documents, in illustration of his own and other men's voyages of discovery which Cabot had been collecting for sixty years.†

Our last view of Cabot, eminently characteristic of the man, is on his death-bed. During his last hours, we are told, the thoughts and wishes that had been with him all through life were as strong as ever. He talked flightily to his friend Richard Eden about a divine revelation made to him as to an infallible way of finding the longitude of any place, which he was not allowed to disclose to the world;‡ and then he died, certainly not less than eighty-five years old. Concerning the date and place of his death we have no information. In the turmoil of religious persecution he and his cherished projects were almost forgotten. But the projects were revived under the better rule of Queen Elizabeth, and suggested a field for the exercise of that adventurous spirit for which, above all others, her reign is famous.

* HARLEY, vol. i., *Dedication*.

† BIDDLE, p. 221.

‡ EDEN, *Epistle Dedicatory* to his translation of *A Very Necessary and Profitable Book concerning Navigation* by JOANNES TALSNERUS, cited by BIDDLE.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROMOTERS OF CATHAYAN ENTERPRISE UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[1558—1575.]

WITHIN the limits of Sebastian Cabot's lifetime is comprised all the first period of American discovery. As a young man he heard of the memorable voyage by which Columbus, going out in search of the fabled riches of Cathay, opened the way to a new world of substantial wealth. Five years later he himself took part in the hardly less memorable voyage conducted by his father, also in quest of Cathay, which issued in the first landing of civilized Europeans upon the solid continent of America. In many later enterprises, moreover, he was personally engaged, and in every one of the hundreds of others that were led by other adventurers he took a lively interest. Those which had for their object or their consequence the discovery and colonization, by Spaniards, Germans, and Portuguese, of the central and southern districts of America do not here concern us. Those in which Englishmen attempted a passage to the Indies through the seas north of America we have already reviewed. But there were a few foreign enterprises in the direction indicated by the

Cabots which must be glanced at if we would understand the condition of geographical knowledge touching the districts sought and found by Frobisher and Davis when they embarked upon their work, and the precise extent to which thereby they served the cause they had at heart.

The first of these was conducted by Gaspar de Cor-terreal, a Portuguese gentleman, who in 1500, and again in 1502, visited the coast of North America, near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, and tracked that river for a little way under the impression that it was a channel to the Eastern Ocean. It resulted in the establishment of a small Portuguese fishing colony in Newfoundland, and the extension, little by little, of discovery in those parts visited each summer-time by the fishing-smacks.

The French soon followed in the steps of the Portuguese, and for some years previous to 1523 they appear to have conducted annual trading expeditions to the neighbourhood of the Saint Lawrence. In 1523 they entered upon bolder work, at the instigation of their first great voyager, Juan de Verrazano, a Florentine by birth, but a Frenchman by adoption. Provided by Francis I. with four vessels, Verrazano lost two of them in a storm off the coast of Brittany, and from another he was separated near the Azores. In the fourth, the *Dolphin*, he left Madeira on the 17th of January, 1524. His object was to find a passage north of America towards Cathay. He only succeeded, however, in exploring the North American coast between what is

now called Hudson's River, at which he first saw land, and the Saint Lawrence, whence he returned to France.

In the same year the Spaniards, not satisfied with their triumphs in the central parts of the continent and the islands adjacent to it, sent a Portuguese pilot in their employ, named Estevan Gomez, partly, as it seems, at the instigation of Sebastian Cabot, then Pilot Major of Spain, to seek a short route to the Spice Islands. His fancy was that such a route was to be found in a channel between all those northern districts to which the Spaniards gave the vague name of *Bacalaos*, and the more southern parts as vaguely indicated by the name of *Florida*. He therefore sailed up to the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, and thence searched the coast, in an opposite direction to that followed a few months before by Verrazano, down to Hudson's River, and to some distance further south. Cathay was not reached by it, but the Spaniards were thus led to take their part in the trade of fishing for cod, north and south of Newfoundland, in which the Portuguese and the French were already profitably engaged.

In these ways Europe was made tolerably familiar, before the middle of the sixteenth century, with the entire eastern coast-line of North America; and it was clearly proved that, if the Indies were anyhow to be reached by sailing out into the west, the sailing must be through those icy regions first approached by the Cabots in 1497. In proof that such a route was possible, and in earnest entreaty that it might be attempted, a number of learned arguments were put

forward by a crowd of enterprising Englishmen, almost immediately after the staying of domestic troubles consequent on the succession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne.

The man who did more than any other to bring about a revival of the search for Cathay by voyaging to the north of America was Sir Humphrey Gilbert. But he appears to have been himself much encouraged thereto by earlier arguments adduced by Anthony Jenkinson in favour of further enterprise among the icy seas to the north of Asia.

Jenkinson was a traveller by profession. We first meet with him in the year 1553, when he went with John Lock, who appears to have been a brother of the famous merchant of London, Sir William Lock, on a trading voyage to the Levant, and thence to Jerusalem.* In 1557 he went as agent of the Muscovy Company to Russia; and from Moscow he proceeded, in the following year, upon a long and important journey to Bokhara and the districts around the Caspian Sea. There he collected itineraries of the overland route to Cathay, but was himself unable to pursue it.† In 1561 he was sent on a second journey to Russia, and there he resided for about three years.‡ On the 30th of May, 1565, soon after his return, he addressed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, urging her to advance her fame and increase her realm and riches by despatching an expedition to Cathay. He told how, when

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part i., pp. 101—126.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 310, 314, 324.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 343, 382, 395.

in Moscow, he had seen a unicorn's head, which had been brought from Cathay by sea to Vaigats, and thence overland; and represented that as Englishmen had already sailed as far as Vaigats, it must be as easy for them, aided by their wit and prowess, as it could be for rude barbarians, to perform the rest of the voyage. He himself, he said, had been in districts so far north that he had been in daylight ten weeks long, and he was assured, by the reports of other travellers and native merchants, that during those long arctic days the seas and land were temperate enough for residence and passage. He added that it was now well known that Cathay far surpassed in wealth all the parts of the Indies visited by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and that near it were vast islands with boundless stores of gold, silver, and precious jewels, and other excellent treasures; and he represented that, if her Majesty would embark in this enterprise, she would insure for herself infinite wealth, and become "the famous princess of the world."*

At about the same time, though the precise date of the document is not recorded, a petition to the same effect was addressed to the Queen by Master Humphrey Gilbert, of whose previous history all we know is, that he was born in or near the year 1539, and the second son of Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, in Devonshire; so that he was then about twenty-five years old. In his petition Gilbert represented that nothing had been

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Reign of Elizabeth, Domestic Series*, vol. xxxvi., No. 60.

publicly said or done, for a long time past, touching the discovery of a north-eastern passage to Cathay. He therefore asked permission to fit out an expedition with this object, at his own expense, and with the assistance of certain friends who were willing to aid him in the project. In recompense for this he proposed that the exclusive use of the passage, if he found it, should be reserved to him, his two brothers, and their heirs, or to any one to whom they might transfer their privileges, and that all the profits of the enterprise should go to those who embarked upon it, with the exception of the fifths which, according to the usage in all such cases, belonged to the Crown.*

Almost immediately after this, we find Jenkinson and Gilbert holding conference together on the subject of this projected expedition, and Jenkinson writing to Sir William Cecil, the Principal Secretary of State, begging for an answer to their previous proposals, and again urging the advantages that would result from the enterprise if they were allowed to embark upon it on the terms already proposed.† Queen Elizabeth, however, does not seem to have listened very readily to the project. Without actually refusing it she sent Jenkinson‡ back to Russia as her ambassador, and found employment for Gilbert near home.

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Birch*, No. 4159, fol. 176, described by Mr. SAINSBURY in his *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China, and Japan*, vol. i.—a work to which I am very largely indebted.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic Series*, vol. xlii., No. 23 a.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 372.

He was ordered to Ireland, in July, 1566, there to take employment under the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. He was made a captain in the little army with which Sidney resisted the forces of the treacherous rebel, Shane O'Neill, if patriotic resistance of invasion can at any time be called treachery or rebellion. He took an active part in the fighting that ensued in September and October,* and he was busy in Ireland during the greater part of the next four years.

His Cathayan project, however, was not forgotten. Having been sent to England with despatches by Sir Henry Sidney, in November, 1566, he took the opportunity of again petitioning Queen Elizabeth. He reminded her that he was a member of the Corporation for the Discovery of New Trades to which she had just given a charter, and that therefore he had good reason, in the interest of trade, to undertake the discovery of a route to Cathay "and all other the rich parts of the world not found." On this occasion he asked for use of two of the Queen's ships, provided he supplied two others, requiring only as his recompenses the life government of any countries he might conquer in the Queen's name, a tenth part of all the land they might contain, and diminution of customs duties upon any goods he might export or import during the first forty years. This petition differed essentially from the previous one, in that it proposed to reach the Indies by sailing to the north-west instead of to the north-east, and to this

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Reign of Elizabeth, Irish Correspondence*, vol. xix., Nos. 43, 44.

change of plan Gilbert steadily adhered in all his later proposals for Cathayan enterprise.* Queen Elizabeth and Sir William Cecil appear to have favourably entertained the project. But the Company of Merchant Adventurers stoutly protested against it as an infringement of the charter lately accorded to them, and therefore it was abandoned.†

Early in 1567 Gilbert was sent back to Ireland. He was there in March, and in June the Queen wrote to Sidney bidding him see how far the Irish rebels could be restrained by the establishment of a colony of obedient subjects in Ulster, and in this work to use the assistance of Captain Gilbert. These colonists were to come chiefly from the West of England. Gilbert was to help in selecting them, to conduct them to the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle, and there to be their president.‡ The undertaking fell to the ground, however, and Gilbert returned to his former work of soldiering. Through 1568 and 1569 Gilbert's band of horsemen was Sir Henry Sidney's main stay. Having been sent to England in the summer of 1568 he there fell dangerously ill, whereupon the Queen took occasion to write to Sidney, saying he was to have his full pay during his absence, and that some better place was to be found for him on his return. The better place was a colonelcy, and as a colonel, Gilbert defeated the celebrated McCarthy More in September, 1569. In October Sidney

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xlii., No. 23.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xlii., No. 5.

‡ *Ibid.*, *Ireland*, vol. xx., No. 56; vol. xxi., Nos. 10, 49, 56, 64.

placed him in entire charge of the province of Munster, where he had to keep McCarthy More and his friends in subjection. Therein he acted as harshly as Queen Elizabeth could wish. In December he wrote to the Lord Deputy saying that he was determined to have neither parley nor peace with any rebel; that he had put many to the sword; and that he should leave no malefactor who came into his hands unexecuted, as he was convinced that no conquered nation could be ruled with gentleness. Thereupon Sidney sent to the Queen special praise of Gilbert's "discretion, judgment, and lusty courage;" and on the 1st of January, 1570, he knighted him for the same at Drogheda. His stern conduct brought temporary peace to Ireland, and early in 1571, when Sir Henry Sidney resigned his Lord Deputyship, he also was allowed to return to England.*

He was not in England long. His fighting experience in Ireland led him to join, as a volunteer soldier, in the more nobler contest then beginning in Holland. In the summer of 1572, while Gilbert's band, as it was still called, kept Ireland in awe, he went to Flanders with fourteen hundred Englishmen, and there took some part in the brave struggle for independence which the Protestants of Flanders were maintaining against the forces of Philip of Spain and his deputy the Duke of Alva. He helped to besiege Sluys, and when induced by his new friends to abandon that work, he took part in two assaults on Tergoes. But his hot-headed mode of fighting, acquired in Ireland, did not agree with the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Ireland*, vols. xxiii.—xxxii., *passim*.

more prudent tactics of the Dutchmen. He had hoped to take Tergoes before it was relieved by the Spaniards ; and when that relief was effected by Mondragon's famous march of five hours' length, through country under water, on the 20th of October, he came to the strange conclusion that the Flemings were not bold enough to make useful any further fighting on their behalf. Therefore he returned to England.*

For the next few years he lived quietly at Limehouse, where also he had resided during the twelve months previous to his Flemish enterprise. In the summer of 1571 he had been employed by Queen Elizabeth in preparing statutes for the maintenance of artillery, and for the suitable provision of horses and armour to be used in the Queen's service.† During the first few months following his return, he was busy negotiating for the establishment of some alum, copperas, and copper works in the neighbourhood of London. In February, 1572, he offered to pay to Lady Katherine Mountjoy 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year for the use of her house and grounds in this way. But others with whom he was associated in this project wished to add alchemy to their chemistry, and to attempt the transmutation of iron into copper. Gilbert was wise enough to object to this, and therefore in May he withdrew from the concern, earning thereby the abuse of his partners.‡

Amid these and other occupations, however, he

* Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, *Actions of the Low Countries*, in SCOTT's edition of the *Somers Tracts* (1809), vol. i., pp. 359—365.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. lxxxviii., No. 46.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxxv., Nos. 45, 46 ; vol. lxxxvi., Nos. 14, 44.

retained all his interest in the schemes for Cathayan voyaging and discovery about which we saw him petitioning the Queen a few years before. George Gascoigne, the poet, tells how, in the winter of 1574, he visited him at Limehouse and asked him "how he spent his time in this loitering vacation from martial stratagems." By way of answer Gilbert took his friend into his study and there showed him "sundry profitable and very commendable exercises which he had perfected plainly with his own pen." The chief of these "exercises" was a learned 'Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies,' which Gascoigne borrowed, and, either with or without permission, lost no time in publishing.* This 'Discourse' so clearly and completely sets forth the arguments on the subject that were in force during Elizabeth's reign that we shall best understand the state of opinion thereupon, if we look at it in some detail.

Gilbert began with reference to Plato's Atlantis, which he identified with America, considering the America of his day to be so much of the old Atlantis as was not swamped by floods in ancient times; and Plato's speculations he supported by the opinion of later writers and cosmographers. "All which learned men and painful travellers," he said, "have affirmed with one consent and voice that America is an island, and that there lieth a great sea between it, Cathay, and Greenland, by

* Preface to the *Discourse*, printed by EDEN in his *Decades*; and afterwards, without the preface, by HAKLUYT, in his *Voyages*, vol. iii., pp. 11—24.

the which any man of our country that will give the attempt may, with small danger, pass to Cathay, the Moluccas, India, and all other places in the east, in much shorter time than either the Spaniard or Portuguese doth or may do, from the nearest part of any of their countries within Europe."

That America is a great island, Gilbert thought to be proved by the testimony of various travellers both in the east and in the west, and by the fact that none of its natives had ever wandered into Europe or Asia, and that no Tartars, Scythians, or other migratory tribes of the Old World had ever found their way to it, or, if they had done so, ever returned to tell their comrades of its treasures. "It also appears to be an island," he said, "because the sea runneth by nature circularly from east to west, which motion of the water is most evidently seen in the sea which lieth on the south side of Africa, where the current that runneth from the east to the west is so strong that the Portuguese, in their voyages eastward to Calicut in passing by the Cape of Good Hope, are enforced to make divers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along westward upon the Frith of Magellan." Gilbert urged that as this current passed northward, from Magellan's Straits, along the whole coast of America, and there met another current, almost as strong, which came from the north-east, they must necessarily proceed together past the northern coast of America till they entered the Pacific Ocean. "The current of the great ocean could not have been maintained to run continually

one way from the beginning of the world unto this day had there not been some through passage; so that this perpetual current cannot be maintained but by continual re-access of the same water which passes through the frith and is brought thither again by the circular motion." And if water took this course, thought Gilbert, ships could certainly sail upon its surface in the same direction. He did not take account of the treacherous icebergs and the frozen crust, far less easily to be traversed than solid land.

Having proved to his satisfaction the existence of a north-western passage, Sir Humphrey Gilbert brought together all the reports of voyagers, from Cabot downwards, who had attempted it at its eastern entrance, or visited the neighbourhood of its termination in Behring's Straits. Though Europeans had not yet succeeded, he made much of a story, believed in his day, that it had been accomplished by some natives of Asia who came to Germany in 1160; and what barbarous red men had done he urged that civilized white men could certainly accomplish. He next adduced many weighty arguments against Anthony Jenkinson's project, in which he himself had believed a few years previously, in favour of a north-eastern passage to Cathay, without perceiving that they weighed quite as strongly against his present plan for sailing round the northern shore of America. He concluded his 'Discourse' with enumeration of the advantages that must result to England from the successful carrying through of his project. By this and by this only, he said, could

we hope to take a share of the rich trade carried on with the east by Portugal and with the west by Spain. In this direction, and in no other, could we pursue our traffic without opposition from either nation, and the facilities of the route, when once made clear, would enable us to undersell them in all the markets of the world. "Also we might sail to divers very rich countries, both civil and others, out of both their jurisdictions, where there is to be found great abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones, cloth of gold, silks, all manner of spices, grocery-wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and the Portuguese, through the length of their journey, cannot well attain unto." Gilbert speculated that the finding of this north-west passage would result in the establishment of rich English colonies in distant parts, which would provide a comfortable home for the people now starving or toiling painfully in the overcrowded mother-country, and furnish unspeakable wealth to those who remained in the land of their birth. "These things considered," he said, "I must needs conclude that this discovery has been reserved for some noble prince or worthy man, thereby to make himself rich and the world happy."

This treatise of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's was the prelude to a general revival of interest among Englishmen in the project that it advocated. Though not printed, apparently, till 1576, it was handed about in manuscript during at least a year and a half previous to that

date,* and seems to have been the chief incentive to a letter which, near the close of 1574, Queen Elizabeth addressed to the governor and directors of the Muscovy Company, reminding them that twenty years had passed since they had last despatched an expedition in search of Cathay, and telling them that as they had been incorporated with the chief object of pursuing that search, it was right that they should continue it or else transfer their privileges to other adventurers who were eager to possess them.† The bearer of that letter was Martin Frobisher, and the chief adviser of the Company at the time of its coming was Michael Lock. These two men, in different degrees, share with Gilbert the merit of reviving the Cathayan project.

Michael Lock was the son of Sir William Lock, a rich London merchant, who was associated with Sir Thomas Gresham in many commercial undertakings. The son was born in 1532. "My late father," he said, in a short memoir of himself, written in 1577, "kept me at schools of grammar in England till I was thirteen years old, and, he being sworn servant to King Henry VIII., his mercer and also his agent beyond the seas in divers affairs, he then sent me over seas to Flanders and France to learn these languages and to know the world. Since which time I have continued these thirty-two years in travail of body and study of mind, following my vocation in the trade of merchan-

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., Cotton, Otho E. viii., fol. 43.

† *Ibid.*

dize; whereof I have spent the first fifteen years in continued travail of body, passing through almost all the countries of Christianity, both by land and by sea, not without great labours, cares, dangers, and expenses of money incident; having had the charge, as captain of a great ship of burthen, by the space of more than three years." After that he settled in London as a merchant. While applying himself to commerce, however, as he said, "by a certain inclination of mind, I have been drawn continually as my vocation and care of my family would permit, to the study of cosmography." "By divers conferences with men of divers nations, travellers and merchants," he acquired all the information that he could about all parts of the world; and, as he studied, the conviction grew upon him, he tells us, that by opening a north-west passage to the Indies great advantages might be brought, not only to himself and his family, but also to England and the whole commercial world.*

Martin Frobisher arrived at a similar conviction in a kindred way. Of his early history we know very little. He was a native of Normanton, in Yorkshire, and was about as old as Gilbert. Lock, in the memoir just cited, says that "he was born of honest parentage, a gentleman of a good house and antiquity, who, in his youth, for lack of schools thereabout, sent him to London, where he was put to Sir John York, knight, being his kinsman, who, perceiving him to be of great spirit and bold courage and natural hardness

* *Cotton MSS.*, Otho E. viii., fols. 41, 42.

of body, sent him in a ship to the Gold Country of Guinea, in company of other ships set out by divers merchants of London." That was in the autumn of 1554. The expedition in which young Frobisher was put to learn seamanship was the first, with the exception of a short tentative voyage undertaken in the previous year, in which Englishmen explored the western coast of Africa, and followed in the track of Portuguese voyagers past the Cape of Good Hope to India. Its commander was John Lock, either the uncle or the brother of Michael Lock, and the adventurers, after traversing the Gold Coast, landed and made a beginning of a prosperous trade in elephants' teeth and African gold. They returned to London in the summer of 1555.* For the next eleven years we hear nothing of Frobisher; but it is pretty certain that he continued the occupation in which his rich kinsman had started him, and shared in some of the expeditions which were every year despatched either to the west coast of Africa or to its northern shores and the district of the Levant. By the summer of 1566, at any rate, he had risen to the rank of captain. On the 30th of May, and again on the 11th of June, in that year, he was examined by order of the Queen's Council on suspicion of having fitted out a ship with the intention of using it in piratical ways.† Of the issue of that examination we are ignorant, and we lose sight of him for five other years. We can only infer that he continued to make way as

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 14—23.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic Series*, vol. xl., Nos. 2—7.

sailor, trader, and pirate—piracy being an employment which in those times was either praised or punished according to its value or inconvenience to the State. In August, 1571, we find that a hulk was being built for him at Portsmouth, with the sanction, if not under the direction, of Lord Burghley, to be used in furtherance of Elizabeth's plans for the subjugation of Ireland and the annoyance of Irishmen, and he appears to have been frequently employed upon Irish work during the next two or three years.* This employment brought him into close relationship with the State and under the immediate notice of Queen Elizabeth. It probably also secured for him the friendship of Sir Henry Sidney and of Sidney's brother-in-law, the Earl of Warwick, as well as of Sidney's favourite, Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

One result of these associations was the Queen's letter conveyed, as we have seen, in December, 1574, by Frobisher to the Muscovy Company. The Company found Russian trade so profitable that it demurred to Queen Elizabeth's suggestion of a voyage in quest of Cathay. Thereupon without delay the Queen sent a second message, ordering that, if the Company refused itself to take the matter in hand, it was to grant a licence for the enterprise to certain adventurers who desired to embark upon it. A licence was accordingly granted, in February, 1575, to Master Martin Frobisher and divers gentlemen associated with him; and out of

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic Series*, vol. lxxx., Nos. 31, 54; *Irish Series*, vol. xxxviii., No. 48.

that grew Frobisher's three voyages in search of a north-west passage to the Indies.*

The chief promoter of the work was Sir Humphrey Gilbert; but his pupils appear to have soon grown jealous of him, and while they zealously pursued their quest his services were well-nigh forgotten.

* LOCK'S *Memoir*, in *Cotton MSS.*, Otho E. viii., fols. 41—43.

CHAPTER VI.

MARTIN FROBISHER'S THREE VOYAGES IN THE DIRECTION OF CATHAY.

[1575—1579.]

THE licence granted to Martin Frobisher and his partners in the enterprise for finding a north-west passage to Cathay was dated the 3rd of February, 1575. During the next sixteen months the friends were busily preparing for the work. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, no great traveller, brought the results of long study and much scientific observation, but, having little money with which to second his arguments, and meeting with much opposition from richer and less learned men, soon turned aside from it in chagrin, or only watched its progress from a distance. Michael Lock was the richest of the group, and his influence with City people secured promises of assistance from others richer than himself, and helped to bring into the little company of schemers some men of large experience and scientific observation. Science was represented by Dr. Dee, the astrologer. The advisers of most practical experience in northern voyaging were Stephen Burrough, the old associate of Willoughby and Chancellor, and Anthony Jenkinson, the famous Russian traveller and early advocate of a

north-eastern voyage to the Indies. Frobisher himself brought great experience in seamanship, acquired in more temperate regions, and the favour of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burghley; but, as Lock alleged four years afterwards, when the friends had quarrelled, very little liking from some supporters of the project.

The first thing to be done was to collect money enough for the enterprise. Lock himself subscribed 100*l.*; and Sir Thomas Gresham, then fifty-six years old, and at the height of his commercial greatness, William Bird, then Customer—that is, chief collector of customs—of London, and Alderman William Bond, also contributed 100*l.* a piece; Lord Burghley, the Earl of Sussex, the famous Earl of Leicester, and his brother the Earl of Warwick, each subscribed 50*l.*; and promises of 25*l.* a piece were given by Leicester's nephew, Philip Sidney, by Secretary Walsingham, by Anthony Jenkinson, by Lionel Duckett, the great merchant of London, and by four other gentlemen. Thus a fund of 875*l.* was secured; but this, though the amount must be multiplied by six or seven, to get its equivalent in modern currency, was quite insufficient for carrying out the project, and no more could be collected in time for action during the summer of 1575. At that, says Lock, Frobisher was “a sad man.” In a very boastful account of his services in the work, which must be read with some distrust, however, Lock represents that he pledged himself to secure its accomplishment in the following year; and then Frobisher was “alive again.” In default of other assistance, Lock reports that he him-

self, in addition to his previous subscription of 100*l.*, supplied as much money as from time to time was needed, making in all 738*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* He tells us that he helped Frobisher in all sorts of other ways. He lent him all the books, charts, maps, and instruments that he had been collecting during twenty years. He introduced him to men of influence and wisdom. "I made my house his home, my purse his purse, and my credit his credit," he says, "when he was utterly destitute both of money, and credit, and of friends."

The autumn of 1575, and the ensuing winter and spring were spent in zealous consultations and preparations. That he might be nearer to Lock's residence and to the docks in which the vessels were being fitted out, Frobisher left his lodgings in Fleet Street, and went to live at Widow Hancock's house in Mark Lane. Frequent conferences were held in the house of Alderman Bond, close by ; yet more frequent were the meetings under Lock's roof, where charts were examined, plans propounded and considered, and arrangements made for the choice and fitting out of vessels, selecting of mariners and officers, and the like. Meetings were held also at Court, where Frobisher's best friend appears to have been the Earl of Warwick, who advanced him in the favour of Queen Elizabeth and the more cautious support of the great Earl of Burghley. The Court being generally held at Greenwich, statesmen and courtiers took their share in personal inspection of the arrangements for the voyage. Thus, with help from divers sources, and a good deal of advice that was by no means

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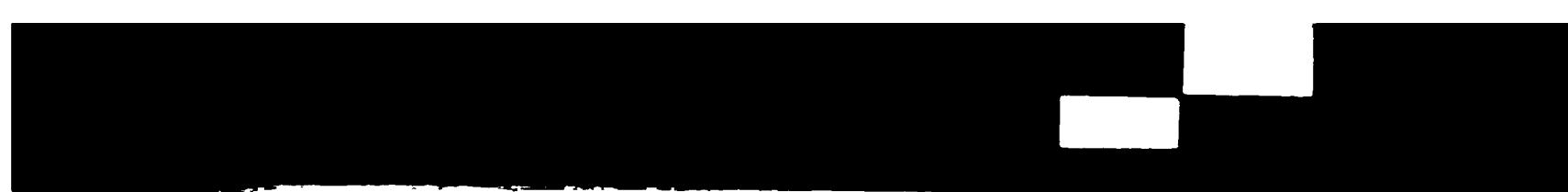
helpful, the arrangements were completed by the end of May, 1576, and two stout little barks, the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, each of twenty-five tons' burthen, with a small pinnace, carrying ten tons, attached to them, lay in the Thames, near to old London Bridge, ready for departure. Frobisher received his commission as admiral or captain of the expedition; Christopher Hall and Owen Griffin were appointed masters of the ships, and Nicholas Chancellor was made purser of the voyage.*

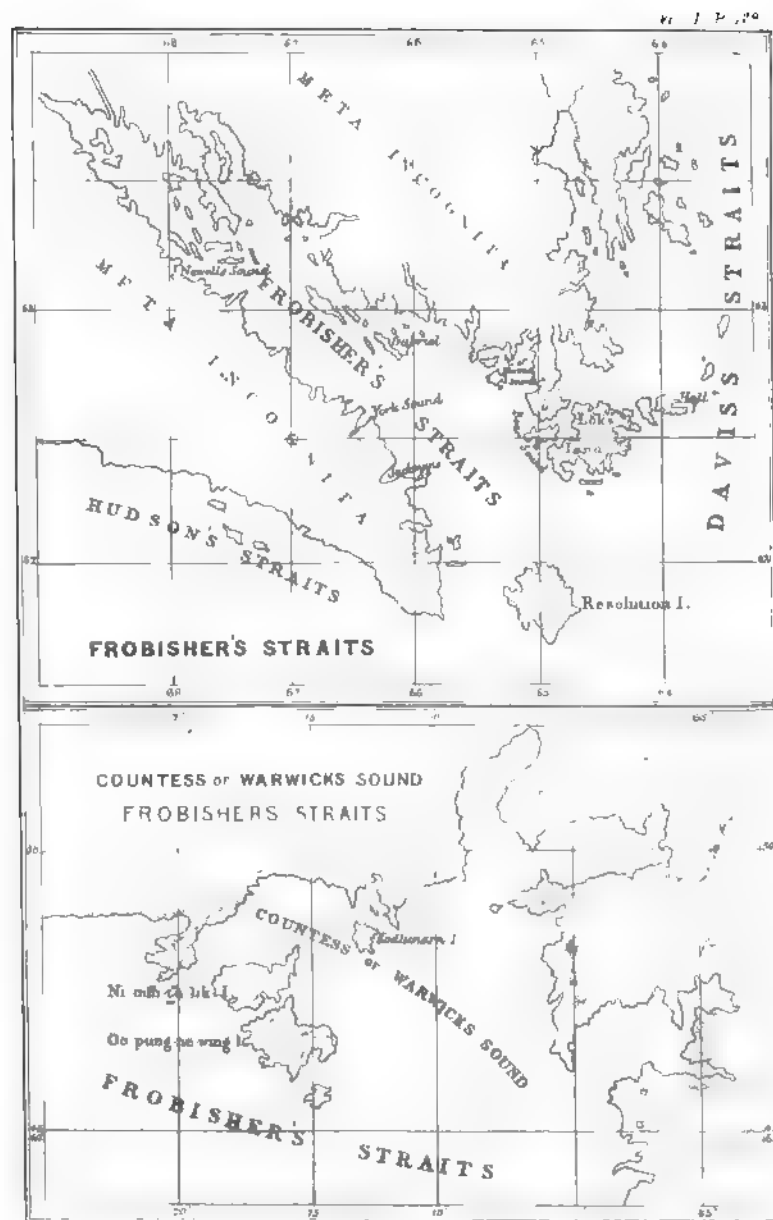
The little company, numbering not more than thirty-five or forty officers and men, started on the morning of Thursday, the 7th of June. Off Deptford, the pinnace was run down by a ship coming into port, which broke her bowsprit and foremast, and that caused a day's delay. At mid-day on Friday, the vessels passed Greenwich with a volley of ordnance and other parting show of honour to the Court. Queen Elizabeth watched them and waved her hand from a window, and then sent a messenger in a rowing boat to tell the adventurers that she had good liking of their doings and thanked them for it, and that she desired Frobisher to come next day and take his leave of her. This he did while the vessels lay at anchor, and while another messenger went on board and bade the crews, in her Majesty's name, to please her by being diligent

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxix., No. 32; vol. cxxix., No. 44; *Cotton MSS.*, Otho E. viii., fols. 42, 43, 46; *HAKLUYT*, vol. iii., pp. 29, 57. The following details of the voyage are taken from the two accounts by Captain Hall and Captain Best in *HAKLUYT*, and from LOCK's *Memoir*, already cited—Otho E. viii., fols. 46—53.

and faithful servants to Master Frobisher and his deputies. The final leave-taking was not over till the 12th of June, and on that day Frobisher really set out on his enterprise. He sailed round the western coast of England and Scotland, and on the 25th of the month passed the Shetlands, where he halted to stop a leak in the *Gabriel*, and to take in fresh supplies of water. Bearing round Faroe Islands, and sailing thence due west, he had sight, on the 11th of June, of some "high and ragged land rising like pinnacles of steeples," which seems to have been the southernmost part of Greenland, then known as Friesland. There he wished to land, but was deterred from seeking a harbour by "the great store of ice that lay along the coast and the great mists that troubled them not a little."

Worse trouble befel him as he passed on towards the broken mainland and islands lying west of Greenland and north of Labrador. A great storm arose, in the course of which his pinnacle disappeared, never to be heard of afterwards. Thereby he lost three men; and next day he experienced a much greater loss in the disappearance of the *Michael*, which was carried away by the storm. After vainly searching for their comrades, its crew sailed westward till they reached land, apparently a part of Labrador; but, we are told, "they found it so compassed with monstrous high islands of ice, that they durst not approach." Thereupon, supposing that Frobisher and the others were wrecked, they returned to England and arrived at Bristol on the 1st of September.





London: Edward Bentley

Thus Frobisher was left alone with the *Gabriel*, with eighteen mariners and gentlemen on board. In no way daunted, though his own little ship had been seriously injured, he continued his voyage. On the 21st of July he reached the group of islands lying westward of what is now called Davis's Straits. These he supposed to be a part of Labrador, and he named the one which he first saw Queen Elizabeth's Foreland. Deterred by fogs and snow-covered rocks from landing, he sailed up and down the coast, hoping to meet with a suitable harbour in which to land and repair his ship. At last, after several days' searching, he found a resting-place on an island which he called Hall's Island, in honour of the master of the *Gabriel*, who, in a rowing-boat, with four sailors, first made a landing on it on the 1st of August. Thence he sailed into the more southern of the two bays in Cumberland Island. To this bay he gave the name, still borne by it, of Frobisher's Straits. Through it he supposed that he could easily proceed to the other side of America. On his first voyage, however, he only explored some of the islands and part of the northern coast-line near the entrance to the Straits. All this neighbourhood was afterwards called Meta Incognita.

One of the voyagers has given a lively description of Frobisher's experiences. "He saw mighty deer which seemed to be man-kind, which ran at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defence and policy to save his life. In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the people's resorting thither. And being ashore upon the

top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things fleeing in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises or seals, or some kind of strange fish; but coming nearer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend from the hill, certain of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, having stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose: whereupon he speedily hasted to his boat, and went himself to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger and saved his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our men's faces. And to show their agility, they tried many masteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners' fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their arms and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seals and bear-skins and such like with our men, and received bells, looking-glasses, and other toys, in recompense thereof again."

Chiefly in hopes of finding the passage to Cathay, which he believed to be within his reach, and partly also that he might fully explore the district at which he had arrived, Frobisher made several little expeditions in the neighbourhood, sometimes in the *Gabriel*, sometimes in a rowing-boat. He observed many small islands, and landed upon a few of them. In some places he saw huts and signs of human life, but no actual residents. In others he met with men "of a nature given to fierceness and rapine." In others the

natives treated him kindly, and seemed anxious to have intercourse with him and to understand the wonderful circumstances of civilization that he brought within their reach. But concerning all of them it was reported that "their manner of life and food is very beastly." "They be like to Tartars, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noses, and tawny in colour, wearing seal-skins; and so do the women, not differing in fashion; but the women are marked in the face with blue streaks down the cheeks, and round about the eyes. Their boats are made all of seal-skins, with a keel of wood within the skin. The proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, save only they be flat in the bottom and sharp at both ends."

In these investigations three weeks were profitably spent. But on the 20th of August occurred a terrible disaster. One of the Esquimaux having been brought on board the *Gabriel*, Frobisher gave him a bell and a knife, and then sent him ashore in the ship's boat, with five men to manage it. These five men, anxious to make a little exploration on their own account, disobeyed orders and rowed out of sight. They never returned. After waiting for them all that day, Frobisher spent the four following days in coasting the shore in the direction which they were supposed to have taken, blowing a trumpet and firing guns to let them know he was in search of them. Then, feeling persuaded that they had been murdered by the natives, and being convinced that it would be impossible for him to pursue his voyage with only the thirteen men and boys that

were left to him and without any ship's boat to aid him in his researches, he resolved, much against his hopes and wishes, that he must abandon the work for that year and return to England.

His last act was only excusable on the plea that it accorded with the universal practice of those times—a practice which he had hitherto honourably abstained from following, and that he only did it now under the impression that his plans had been ruined by the treachery of the natives. “The captain,” reports one of the crew, “being desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of the people. Therefore, to deceive the deceivers, he wrought a pretty policy; for, knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and especially in bells, he rang a pretty low bell, making signs that he would give him the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for fear, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter, he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came near the ship's side to receive the bell, which when he thought to take at the captain's hand, he was thereby taken himself; for the captain, being readily provided, let the bell fall and caught the man fast, and plucked him with main force, boat and all, into his bark out of the sea. Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain he bit his tongue in twain with his mouth.

Notwithstanding he died not thereof, but lived until he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea."

With this poor Esquimaux on board, Frobisher weighed anchor on the 26th of August. He followed the same track that he had taken on his outward voyage, passing Greenland on the 1st of September and Iceland on the 6th, with no memorable incident on the way, save that a man who had been blown overboard by a violent gust of wind having caught hold of the foresail sheet, Frobisher was able to pick him up with the same strong arm that he had used in capturing the Esquimaux. The *Gabriel* sailed into Harwich water on the 2nd of October, having been absent from England rather less than four months, and having in the interval explored a district considerably further north than the northernmost point reached by any previous travellers, with the exception of John Cabot, but having done very little towards finding the much-coveted passage to Cathay.

The voyagers were received with great honour. The report brought home just a month before by the master and crew of the *Michael* had led to a general belief that they had all been lost. That made their welcome all the heartier. In London, where they arrived on the 9th of October, says Michael Lock, "they were joyfully received with the great admiration of the people, bringing with them their strange man and his boat, which was such a wonder unto the whole city and to the rest of the realm that heard of it, as seemed never to have happened the like great matter to any man's knowledge."

When the "strange man" was dead, a yet greater theme of wondering interest arose. Let young Philip Sidney, writing in 1577 to his good friend and tutor, Hubert Languet, tell the story. Referring to an earlier letter which is lost, he says: "I wrote to you about a certain Frobisher, who, in rivalry of Magellan, has explored the sea which, as he thinks, washes the north part of America. It is a marvellous history. After having made slow progress in the past year, he touched at a certain island in order to rest both himself and his crew. And there by chance a young man, one of the ship's company, picked up a piece of earth which he saw glittering on the ground, and showed it to Frobisher; but he, being busy with other matters, and not believing that precious metals were produced in a region so far to the north, considered it of no value. But the young man kept the earth by him, as a memorial of his labour, till his return to London. And there, when one of his friends saw it shining in an extraordinary manner, he tested it and found that it was the purest gold, unalloyed with any other metal."* According to another report, this fancied treasure, which in its natural condition was "black stone, much like to sea-coal in colour," was preserved and brought to England by Frobisher himself, not as a thing of any value in itself, but as a curious relic of his arctic experiences, and, on his return, was broken up and distributed among his friends. "And it fortun'd a gentlewoman, one of the

* Cited from the *Zurich Letters* in my *Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney* (1862), p. 177.

adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burnt in the fire so long that at length, being taken forth and quenched in a little vinegar, it glittered with a bright marcasite of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make an assay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity."*

Very great was the stir made in England by this report of Frobisher's gold-finding. Courtiers and merchants, men of science and hardy seamen, clamoured for a renewal of the enterprise, urging that it was of little matter whether Cathay were reached, if treasures equal to those of Cathay could be procured from nearer regions. Queen Elizabeth herself and Lord Burghley entered heartily into the project; and accordingly, in answer to petitions tendered by Frobisher and his leading friends, a charter of incorporation was issued, on unusually liberal terms, to a Company formed in furtherance of the work. This was the Company of Cathay, endowed with privileges equal to those of the Muscovy Company, which it was meant to supersede, as far as the original purposes of its formation were concerned.

The new association was composed of all the contributors to Frobisher's first expedition and of such new adventurers as chose to take shares in it. Michael Lock was appointed its governor for six years,

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 58. Detailed reports on the subject from Michael Lock, and the goldsmith whom he employed to make the assay, are among the RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxii., No. 25.

in consideration of his "industry, good direction, and great travail in the first voyage;" and in recompense for the great outlay of money which he had made therein he was to receive "to his own use for ever" one per cent. of the proceeds of all goods exported from the districts newly found or yet to be discovered. A similar provision was made for Martin Frobisher, to whom also was promised a fixed yearly stipend—the amount of which, however, is not mentioned—in return for his services as "Captain General by sea and Admiral of the ships and navy of the Company." The Company was directed, without delay, to make arrangements for a second voyage, and with this object to put its stock to use. This stock, it appears, amounted to 4,313*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*, of which 813*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* were obtained by sale of the ships and goods employed in the first voyage, and 3,500*l.* consisted of new subscriptions. The Queen subscribed 1,000*l.*; Michael Lock and two others, 200*l.* a-piece; Secretary Walsingham, 175*l.*; and the rest was collected from thirty-five other contributors of smaller amounts. Among these the more notable were, Lord Burghley and Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Philip Sidney, his sister the Countess of Pembroke, and his uncles the Earls of Leicester and Warwick. Sir Humphrey Gilbert promised 25*l.*, but does not seem to have paid it until the expedition had returned.*

The formal charter of the Cathay Company was issued on the 17th of March, 1577. But preparations

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxi., Nos. 48, 49; vol. cxix., Nos. 31, 34, 36, 40, 41, 44, 45.

for Frobisher's second voyage were begun some months before. By the 30th of March it was decided that he should be provided with three ships, his old *Gabriel* and *Michael*, each of '25 tons' burthen, and having between them twenty mariners and five soldiers on board, and one much larger vessel lent by the Queen, the *Aid*, of 200 tons' burthen, furnished with sixty-five sailors and twenty-five soldiers. Among the crews were ten convicts, most of them imprisoned for highway robbery, taken out of prison, and, in accordance with a very foolish custom of the times, handed over to Frobisher, in the expectation that he would be able to turn them into honest men.* It was by such as these that mutinies were encouraged, and lawless actions, bringing dishonour to the name of Englishmen, were done. Frobisher wisely got rid of his criminals before he had parted from the English coast.†

His ships weighed anchor at Blackwall on Whit Monday, the 26th of May. Nine days before a code of instructions for his guidance during the voyage had been addressed to him, as her "loving friend," by the Queen. In these it openly appeared that the discovery of a passage to Cathay was regarded, by merchants and statesmen at any rate, as quite subordinate to the finding of a gold district in the northern parts of America, and its conversion into an English colony. Frobisher was to go at once to Hall's Island, there to leave his large ship in

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxi., No. 48; vol. cxix., No. 40.

† HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 58.

safe harbour, and with the two smaller ones to visit the place whence he had brought the ore last year, and to search for other gold-producing districts. If he succeeded, he was to plant a colony and leave the *Aid* and its soldiers to protect it; if he failed he was at once to send the *Aid* back to England. In either case, he was only to pursue his Cathayan search in the *Gabriel* and *Michael*; if, indeed, it seemed desirable that he should do even that. In the course of the expedition he was to capture eight or ten people of the country, both young and old; "whom we mind shall not return again thither," it was said, "and therefore you shall have great care how ye do take them, for avoiding of offence towards them and the country."*

After one day's halt at Gravesend, where the sacrament was administered and the crews were, according to the report of one of them, "prepared as good Christians towards God and resolute men for all fortunes," and three days' waiting at Harwich, where additional provisions were taken in, and some who were found to be neither good Christians nor resolute men were weeded out of the company, Frobisher proceeded in the track of his previous voyage. He stopped at Orkney and found its inhabitants almost as barbarous as the Esquimaux. "At our landing," we read, "the people fled from their poor cottages, with shrieks and alarms to warn their neighbours of enemies; but, by gentle persuasions, we

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxiii., No. 13. The details of Frobisher's second voyage, like the first, are chiefly taken from the two eye-witnesses' reports, printed by HAKLUIT.

reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frightened with pirates, or some other enemies, that move them with such sudden fear. Their houses are very simply built with pebble stone, without any chimneys, the fire being made in the midst thereof. They are destitute of wood; their fire is turfs and cowshards. The goodman, wife, children, and other of the family, eat and sleep on the one side of the house; and the cattle on the other; very beastly and rudely, in respect of civility. They have corn, bigg, and oats, with which they pay their king's rents, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantities of fish, which they dry in the wind and sun. They dress their meat very filthily, and eat it without salt. Their apparel is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is performed according to the Scots."

Leaving these wild people on the 8th of June, Frobisher and his crew sailed on for six-and-twenty days, meeting on their way a fishing smack which had come from Iceland, but seeing no land and suffering much from contrary winds and boisterous seas. Through these they were able to pass more safely by reason of the continual day, or alternation of daylight and twilight, in which they found themselves. Great trees, torn up by the roots and brought by the currents from the coast of America, and some icebergs, came in their way, and on the 4th of July there was great firing of guns and rejoicing because the men of the *Michael*, which was in advance of the other vessels, mistook a group of larger

icebergs for the northern shore of Greenland. Greenland was close by, however, and they came within sight of it in the evening of the same day. They were unable to land. During three days Frobisher wandered up and down in a rowing-boat, seeking some safe harbour; but he saw nothing but a ragged coast-line of high mountains and desolate table lands covered with snow and snow-wrapped rocks, hardly to be distinguished from the huge lumps of ice jutting out of the stormy and mist-enveloped sea.

Leaving this region on the 8th of July, Frobisher sailed on to the north-west and made for the islands which he had visited the year before. On the way the *Michael* was nearly wrecked, her steerage being broken and her topmast blown overboard, so that she was beaten out of sight and given up for lost until the morning of the 17th, when all the ships came together in the neighbourhood of Hall's Island. Frobisher tried to enter the Straits that bore his name, but they were blocked up with ice; and therefore, after some search for a better harbouring, he put into the little bay in Hall's Island, at which he had previously anchored. Then he entered upon five weeks' careful examination of the adjacent islands and waters, made sometimes with the whole fleet, sometimes in the *Gabriel* and *Michael*, and oftenest in one or more of the ships' boats.

Concerning the results of this examination we have many curious details. Frobisher's first work, and the work to which all through this expedition he seems, in accordance with his instructions, to have chiefly applied

himself, was in searching for the gold ore which was supposed to abound in the district. On the 18th of July, immediately after his little fleet had cast anchor, he proceeded with his gold refiners to the island from which the deceptive mineral had been procured the year before. He found none there; but in some other little islands he met with ore enough to make him believe that there was plenty waiting to be found.

On the following day he started on a more important searching expedition. Taking with him forty of his followers, he proceeded in a couple of boats as far into Frobisher's Straits as the ice would allow. Then he landed upon its northern shore, and marched inland for two or three miles. Ascending a high hill, he caused his men to make a column of stones, and after sounding a trumpet and offering up suitable prayers, he named the hill Mount Warwick, in honour of his patron, the Earl of Warwick. On his way down he met a party of natives, who made great show of friendship, and skipped, danced, laughed, and cried for joy at the sound of the English trumpets. Englishmen and Esquimaux conversed in dumb show and seemed to have arrived at a good understanding with one another. Pins and other trifles were gladly taken by the natives in exchange for bow-cases and whatever other articles they had about them. "Their manner of traffic," says the narrator of the voyage, "is thus: they do use to lay down of their merchandize upon the ground so much as they mean to part withal, and so looking that the other party with whom they make trade should do the like, they themselves do depart, and then,

if they do like of their part, they come again and take in exchange the other's merchandize ; otherwise, if they like not, they take their own and depart." In this way Frobisher's company spent most of the day. In the afternoon they hurried back to the shore, intending to return to the ships before nightfall. The Esquimaux followed them to the shore, making all possible signs of friendship, and beckoning them to stay with or return to them. Frobisher on his part was anxious to take some of them back to the ships, and this induced him to a very foolish and unjustifiable measure. Having coaxed two of his new friends to the water's edge, he caught hold of them and tried, with Captain Hall's assistance, to force them into a boat. The natives slipped away, ran for their bows and arrows, which they had left on the road, and then made such a desperate attack upon Frobisher and Hall that they, having no weapons with which to defend themselves, nearly lost their lives. Thereupon both Englishmen and Esquimaux crowded up, and a general scuffle ensued, which resulted in the capture of one native and in the turning of all his comrades, who had shown their willingness to be friends, into dangerous enemies.

That same night Frobisher had another narrow escape. Having rowed from the larger island to a small one at a little distance off, he was compelled to stay there all night by a violent storm which sprang up and nearly wrecked the ships that were waiting for him out at sea. During the day the wind had changed, and before evening it brought down upon the little fleet a whole

army of icebergs, great and small. The mariners thought that they exceeded a thousand in number, and that the smallest of them by itself would certainly destroy the ships if it came into collision with them. The night-long twilight they spent in evading the pursuit of these formidable enemies, sailing now in one direction, now in another, as one iceberg after another approached and threatened to overwhelm them. "Some scraped us, and some happily escaped us," says the sailor historian. But in the end they were saved by careful seamanship, he adds, "God being our best steersman." In the morning, Frobisher rejoined them with his comrades and his captive; and all united, of course excepting the captive, in hearty thanksgiving to God for his protection of them in the time of danger.

The storm being overpassed, it proved very serviceable to the voyagers. Frobisher's Straits were thereby sufficiently cleared of ice to be navigable. Therefore they, for the first time, fairly entered them, and proceeded by degrees, halting often on the way, for a distance of about a hundred miles into the channel. Frobisher's first anchoring was in a little bay, on the southern side of the Straits, which in honour of his chief mate, an expert sailor, he called Jackman's Sound. This, which seemed to him a safe resting-place, was rendered dangerous by numerous great blocks of ice which, breaking off from the frozen covering of the remoter part of the Straits, rode through it with a curve on their way to the open sea. But the ships remained in it without injury, while Frobisher investigated some

adjoining islands, and then proceeded to explore the southern coastland, which was really a promontory dividing Hudson's Straits from Frobisher's Straits, but which he supposed was a portion of the American continent.

Upon the island he gathered large quantities of what he took for gold ore, and his wonder was aroused by "a great dead fish, which," we are told, "as it should seem, had been embayed with ice, and was, in proportion, round like to a porpoise, being about twelve feet long and in bigness answerable, having a horn of two yards long growing out of the snout or nostrils." This horn, "wreathed and straight, like in fashion to a taper made of wax," was taken home and presented to Queen Elizabeth, who kept it among her treasures.

On the 23rd of July, Frobisher and all the men who could be spared from the ships landed on the promontory, and made some research into the characteristics of this part of *Meta Incognita*, though deterred from doing as much as they desired by the strict orders given to them to make it their great business to search for the coveted gold ore. "At our first arrival," says one of the sailor historians, "our general, with his company in marching order, entered the land, having special care by exhortations that, at our entrance thereunto, we should all with one voice, kneeling upon our knees, chiefly thank God for our arrival; secondly, beseech Him that it would please His Divine Majesty long to continue our Queen, for whom he and all the rest of our company took possession of the

country; and, thirdly, that by our Christian study and endeavour these barbarous people, trained up in paganism and infidelity, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer. After this we all marched through the country with ensign displayed, so far as was thought needful, and now and then heaped up stones on high mountains and other places, in token of possession."

Satisfied with that, the voyagers crossed the straits and paid a similar visit to the northern shore, which they thought was either Asia itself or one of its insular appendages. Thence they sailed further west, visiting both the northern and the southern barriers of Frobisher's Straits, and halting finally in a little bay which they called the Countess of Warwick's Sound, with an islet in its midst, to which they gave the name of the Countess of Warwick's Island. There they found plenty of the fancied gold of which they were in search, but being prevented by the ice from going further, prepared for returning to England.

Let the two sharers in this voyaging, whose narratives are our only sources of information thereupon, tell us some of their experiences in their own quaint words. "Upon the mainland, over against the Countess's Island," says one of them, "we discovered and beheld, to our great marvel, the poor caves and houses of those country people, which serve them, as it should seem, for their winter dwellings, and are made two fathoms under ground, in compass round like to an oven, being

joined fast one to another, having holes like a fox or coney, to keep and come together. They undertrench these places with gutters, so that the water filling from the hills above them may slide away without their annoyance; and are seated commonly in the foot of a hill to shield them better from the cold winds, having their door and entrance ever open towards the south. From the ground upwards they build with whales' bones for lack of timber, which, bending one over another, are handsomely compacted in the top together and are covered over with seals' skins, which, instead of tiles, fence them from the rain. In which house they have only one room, having the one half of the floor raised with broad staves a foot higher than the other, whereon, strewing moss, they make their nests to sleep in. They defile these dens most filthily with their beastly feeding, and dwell so long in a place, as we think, until, their sluttishness loathing them, they are forced to seek a sweeter air and a new seat. They are, no doubt, a dispersed and wandering nation, as the Tartarians, and live in hordes and troops, without any certain abode."

"They are of the colour of a ripe olive," says another of the voyagers. "They are men very active and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for, in our sight, upon the tops of the hills they would often muster themselves after the manner of a skirmish, trace their ground very nimbly, and manage their bows and darts with great dexterity. They go clad in coats made of the skins of beasts, as of seals, deer, bears,

foxes, and hares. They have also some garments of feathers, being made of the cases of fowls, finely sewed and compacted together. In summer they use to wear the hair side of their coats outward, and sometimes go naked for too much heat, and in winter, as by signs they have declared, they wear four or five fold upon their bodies with the hair for warmth turned inward. These people are by nature very subtle and sharp-witted, ready to conceive our meaning by signs, and to make answer well to be understood again; and if they have not seen the thing whereof you ask them, they will wink and cover their eyes with their hand as who would say, it hath been hid from their sight. If they understand you not whereof you asked them, they will stop their ears. They will teach us the name of each thing in their language which we desire to learn, and are apt to learn anything of us. They delight in music above measure, and will keep time and stroke to any tune you shall sing, both with their voice, head, hand, and foot, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our oars in our boats, and keep a true stroke with our mariners, and seem to take great delight therein. For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withal, they have darts, slings, bows and arrows headed with sharp stones, bones, and some with iron. They are exceeding friendly and kindhearted one to the other, and mourn greatly at the loss or harm of their fellows, and express their grief of mind with a mournful song and dirges. They are very choice in the manner of their living. They

are good fishermen, and in their small boats, being disguised in their coats of sealskins, they deceive the fish, who take them rather for their fellow seals than for deceiving men. They are good marksmen. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a duck or any other fowl in the head, and commonly in the eye. When they shoot at a great fish with any of their darts, they use to tie a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them again, and the fish, not being able to carry it so easily away—for that the bladder doth buoy the dart—will at length be weary and die therewith. They have nothing in use among them to make fire withal, saving a kind of heath and moss which groweth there, and they kindle their fire with continual rubbing and fretting one stick against another, as we do with flints. They draw with dogs in sledges upon the ice, and remove their huts therewithal, wherein they dwell in summer, wherein they go a hunting for their prey and provision against winter. They do sometimes parboil their meat a little and seethe the same in kettles made of seals' skins. They have also pans, cut and made of stone very artificially. They use putting gins wherewith they take fowl. They use to traffic and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they have such thing as their miserable country, and ignorance of art to make, deemeth them to have, as bars of iron, heads of iron for their darts, needles made foursquare, certain buttons made of copper, which they use to wear upon their foreheads for ornament, as our ladies in the Court of England do use great pearl.

The women carry their sucking children at their backs, and do feed them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chew in their own mouths. The women have their faces marked or painted over with small blue spots. They have black and long hair on their heads and trim the same in a decent order. The men have but little hair on their faces and very thin beards. These people are great enchanters, and use many charms of witchcraft; for when their heads do ache, they tie a great stone with a string upon a stick, and with certain prayers and words done to the stick, they lift up the stone from the ground, which sometimes with all a man's force they cannot stir, and sometimes again they lift as easily as a feather, and hope thereby, with certain ceremonious words, to have ease and health. And they made us by signs to understand, lying groveling with their faces upon the ground and making a noise downward, that they worship the devil under them."

These descriptions, very correct in the main, and only in error where the voyagers, unacquainted with the language of the people, were likely to make false inferences, show that Frobisher and his comrades made careful observation of all that came in their way. Their treatment of the natives seems for the most part to have been very kind and conciliatory. On only one occasion did they exercise their soldiership upon them, and this was not until having landed at a new place with friendly intentions, they were assailed with darts and arrows.

It was not in the nature of Tudor Englishmen to understand that they had no right to enter the territory of people who resented their coming.

But in this case they fought no more than seemed to them absolutely necessary. Being attacked by the Esquimaux, they startled them with a volley of ordnance and arrows, hoping thus to frighten them away. In this they were mistaken. "Desperately returning upon our men," says one of the number, "they resisted them manfully, so long as their arrows and darts lasted, and after gathering up those arrows which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrows out of their bodies, encountered afresh again and maintained their cause until both weapons and life failed them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant of what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselves headlong from off the rocks into the sea, lest perhaps their enemies should receive glory or prey of their dead carcasses; for they supposed us belike to be cannibals. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrows, and of them were slain five or six, the rest by flight escaping among the rocks, saving two women, whereof the one being old and ugly, our men thought she had been a devil or some witch, and therefore let her go. The other being young, and cumbered with a suckling child at her back, hiding herself behind the rocks, was espied by one of our men, who, supposing she had been a man, shot through the hair of her head and pierced through the child's arm; whereupon she

cried out, and our surgeon, meaning to heal her child's arm, applied salves thereunto. But she, not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salves away, and by continual licking with her own tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed up the child's arm."

This captive was retained, and taken back to the ships with a kindly purpose. "Having now got a woman-captive for the comfort of our man," our quaint chronicler proceeds, "we brought them both together, and every man with silence desired to behold the manner of their meeting and entertainment. At their first encountering, they beheld each other very wistly a good space, without speech or word uttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the grief and disdain of their captivity had taken away the use of their tongues and utterance. The woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdained or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter. But being again brought together, the man broke up the silence first, and with stern and staid countenance, began to tell a long solemn tale to the woman, whereunto she gave good heeding, and interrupted him nothing till he had finished. And afterwards, being grown into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that, I think, the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other; and for so much as we could perceive, although they lived continually together, yet did they never use as man and wife, though the woman spared

not to do all necessary things that appertain to a good housewife indifferently for them both, as in making clean their cabin, and every other thing that appertained to his ease; for when he was seasick she would make him clean; she would kill and flay the dogs for their eating and dress his meat."

While studying the habits of the Esquimaux, and noticing the features of their country, Frobisher made it his chief business to collect the mineral which was supposed to be richly freighted with gold. By the middle of August he had loaded his ships with about two hundred tons of it; and then, being warned by the approach of colder weather, which gave hard work to many of his people in breaking the ice that threatened to block up the vessels and make the whole party fast prisoners for the winter, he resolved to go home. By his instructions he was authorised, sending home the *Aid*, to pursue his quest of Cathay in the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*. But he saw that it was impossible to make much further voyaging that autumn, and he himself seems to have partly shared the opinion of his employers, that, if Cathayan wealth could be found near at hand, it was better to amass it than to endure fresh perils in a more distant search. At any rate, he decided to postpone the search till the next year. Accordingly, on the 22nd of August, having prepared the ships for departure, he lit a great bonfire on the highest point in the Countess of Warwick's Island, and, marching round it, with ensigns flying and trumpets sounding, discharged a farewell volley of ordnance. On the morn-

ing of the 23rd he weighed anchor, but was becalmed. On the 24th he set sail in earnest, and, in the course of eighteen hours, made the entire passage of so much of the Straits as he had discovered, and entered the open sea.

The homeward voyage was easily performed, in spite of a succession of heavy storms. On the 30th of August one of the company was washed overboard and drowned. This, however, was the only loss incurred during the whole enterprise, excepting the death of one sailor who was ill at the time of starting from England, but who insisted upon accompanying the expedition because "he rather chose to die therein than not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage." On the 1st of September the greatest of the storms separated the ships. The *Aid*, taking a different route from that previously followed, arrived at Milford Haven on the 23rd of September, whence she proceeded leisurely to Bristol, where Frobisher found that the *Gabriel* had already entered that port, and that the *Michael* had reached Yarmouth in safety.

The welcome accorded to Frobisher far exceeded that with which he had been greeted on his return in the autumn of 1576. He was at once summoned to the Court at Windsor, and there heartily thanked and graciously entertained by Queen Elizabeth. The report that he had brought with him two hundred tons of gold ore filled England with rejoicing. A large part of the treasure was deposited in Bristol Castle; the rest was conveyed to the Tower of London, Queen Elizabeth

sending down a special message that four locks were to be placed upon the door of the treasury, and that the keys were to be handed over to Martin Frobisher, Michael Lock, the Warden of the Tower, and the Master of the Mint. Thence it was doled out to the best gold refiners that could be found. Similar experiments were carried on at Bristol under the instructions of Sir William Winter. A crowd of new adventurers hurried up with money to be applied in the carrying on of these experiments, and it was long before people could be brought to believe that the ore did not really contain any gold worth speaking of. When one mode of smelting proved disastrous, it was thought that another sort of manipulation would bring the gold to light. Before long the truth oozed out. On the 30th of November Michael Lock had to inform Secretary Walsingham that a schism had grown up, as he said, "among us commissioners through unbelief, or I cannot tell what worse, in some of us, which the time must open." On the 6th of December Sir William Winter wrote to say that they could not get a furnace hot enough "to bring the work to the desired perfection." At length it was admitted that the ore was "poor in respect of that brought last year, and of that which we know may be brought the next year."*

With that opinion, the adventurers in the Cathay Company, the English Court, and the English people comforted themselves. Already great preparations had

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxvi., No. 25; vol. cxviii., Nos. 36, 39, 41—43, 54; vol. cxix., Nos. 8—10, &c.

been begun for sending out another and much larger expedition early in 1578, and it was resolved that these should not be stayed. The old subscribers to the Company increased their shares, and new men were allowed to join in the venture. It was planned that a sufficient expedition should be despatched for the bringing home of two thousand tons of ore—one memorandum of Lord Burghley's suggests five thousand tons—and for the planting in *Meta Incognita* of a colony of a hundred men; and with this end, a fleet of fifteen ships was fitted out, and suitable preparations of all sorts were made. Among the latter was "a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed and cunningly devised, whereby those men that were appointed to stay there the whole winter might as well be defended from the danger of the snow and cold air as also fortified from the force or offence of those country people which perhaps otherwise, with too great multitude, might oppress them."*

With these preparations the last two months of 1577 and the first four months of 1578 were fully occupied. In the spring a copious series of instructions were delivered to Frobisher. Therein he was directed to do his best towards acquiring the fancied treasures of *Meta Incognita* and "the north-west parts." Cathay was forgotten; and he was only to pursue his discoveries some fifty or a hundred leagues, or at the outside two

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxix., Nos. 35, 37, 39, 42, 46; vol. cxxiii., Nos. 5, 7, 50, 51; vol. cxxiv., No. 1; HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 65.

hundred leagues, further westward than the Countess of Warwick's Island. He was, of course, to be Admiral or Captain-general of the whole fleet, consisting of his old ships the *Aid*, the *Gabriel*, and the *Michael*, and of a dozen new ones—the *Thomas Allen*, the *Judith*, the *Anne Francis*, the *Hope-well*, the *Bear*, the *Thomas of Ipswich*, the *Emanuel of Exeter*, the *Francis of Foy*, the *Moon*, the *Emanuel of Bridgwater*, the *Solomon of Weymouth*, and the *Denis*. For these he was to select a hundred and thirty able seamen, a hundred and sixty pioneers, and sixty soldiers, besides a suitable number of gunners, shipwrights, carpenters, and surgeons, with “a minister or two, to administer divine service and the sacraments according to the Church of England.” Captain Edward Fenton, who had gone in the expedition of 1577 and apparently done nothing, but who was a favourite at Court, was to be Vice-admiral of the voyage and Captain of the colony appointed to settle in the new country. He, Captain Yorke, Captain Richard Philpott, Captain George Best, and Captain Henry Carew were to be Frobisher's chief advisers in the expedition; and for additional advice, if needed, he was to look to his trusty master mariners, Christopher Hall, Charles Jackman, James Bear, and Andrew Dyer. He was to proceed at once to the Countess of Warwick's Island, and there, in the first place, look for the eight hundred tons of ore, that being the quantity ultimately resolved upon, which he was to send home in the autumn; then to find a suitable place in which to erect a fort and plant his colony; and finally to pursue

such general explorations as he deemed advisable. He was also, if possible, either on the outward or on the homeward voyage, to examine "the new land of Friesland,"—that is, the southern part of Greenland; and he was to see that, in the whole enterprise, strict order was observed, and every man did his duty, or was sternly punished for neglect of it.*

Thus instructed, Frobisher assembled his ships at Harwich, on the 27th of May, where eight that had been fitted out in the Thames were joined by the *Aid*, the *Gabriel*, and five others which had left Bristol about three weeks before, and had called at Plymouth to take on board part of their crews. On the 28th Frobisher and his fourteen captains repaired to the Court at Greenwich, and there received fresh thanks and kindly treatment from Queen Elizabeth. "Her Highness," we are told, "besides other good gifts and greater promises, bestowed on the General a fair chain of gold, and the rest of the captains kissed her hand, took their leave, and departed every man towards their charge."

From Harwich the fleet sailed on the 31st of May. Taking a new route, it passed round the southern coasts of England and Ireland. Cape Clear was skirted on the 6th of June, and on the same day Frobisher fell in with some Bristol traders who had been assailed by

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, Conway Papers. The authorities for the following description of Frobisher's third voyage are the two narratives printed by HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 65—70, 107—129, by Thomas Ellis and Captain Best, and two others, by Christopher Hall and Edward Sellman, among the BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Harleian*, clxvii., fols. 165—180, and clxix., fols. 183—200, which contain many interesting details that are not in the printed records.

French pirates, and left "so sore wounded that they were like to perish in the sea, having neither hand nor foot whole to help themselves with, nor victuals to sustain their hungry bodies, some of them having neither eaten nor drunk more than olives and stinking water in many days before." Frobisher had their wounds dressed, gave them a good supply of food, and put them in the way of returning to England.

Then he struck out in a north-westerly direction, and on the 20th reached the south of Greenland. Here, in his second voyage, he had tried, without success, to effect a landing. On this occasion he was more fortunate. He discovered a good harbour, with some of the native boats in it; and on shore he met with tents, whose furniture, including nails and articles of clothing, gave evidence of a certain measure of civilization. But, according to the report of Captain Best, "the savage and simple people, so soon as they perceived our men coming towards them, supposing there had been no other world but theirs, fled fearfully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of human shape so far, in apparel, complexion, and other things, different from themselves." Frobisher respected their innocence, and took none of their property—chiefly, perhaps, because it was not worth taking—except a couple of white dogs, for which he left payment in the shape of knives and pins. He took formal possession of the district on the Queen's behalf, calling it West England, and, "for a certain similitude," giving the name of Charing Cross to the last cliff of

which he had sight as he sailed past on the 22nd of June.

One of the next incidents of the voyage is quaintly described. "The *Solomon*, being under both her courses and bonnets, happened to strike a great whale with her full stem with such a blow that the ship stood still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and cast up his body and tail, and so went under water; and within two days after there was found a great whale dead, swimming above water, which we supposed was that which the *Solomon* struck."

Nine more days of sailing brought the fleet within sight of Meta Incognita and the opposite islands. On the morning of the 2nd of July orders were issued for its stately entrance into Frobisher's Straits, and it was expected that another day or two would bring the voyagers in safety to the Countess of Warwick's Island. Therein they were grievously disappointed. The mouth of the bay was so choked up with ice that Christopher Hall, the experienced master of the *Aid*, advised waiting for a few days, in hopes of a clearer passage. Frobisher persisted, however, and the ships pushed on as best they could. "We were forced many times," says Captain Best, "to stem and strike great blocks of ice, and so, as it were, make way through mighty mountains. All these fleeting ice are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so near together that a man may pass sometimes ten or twelve miles, as it were, upon one firm island of ice, but also

for that they open and shut together in such sort with the tides and sea-gate that, whilst one ship followeth the other with full sails, the ice which was open to the foremost will join and close again before the latter can follow the first. Thereby many times our ships were brought into great danger, as being not able so suddenly to take in our sails or stay the swift way of our ships. By such means some of the fleet, where they found the ice open, entered in, and passed so far within the danger thereof, with continual desire to recover their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they ever escaped or were heard of again."

The *Michael* and the *Judith* fared best in this battle with the ice. Pressing on as well as they could, avoiding the huge masses that were driven towards them, hurrying through clefts in the frozen surface, and often taking shelter in the tiny bays that occurred in the rugged edges of the ice, they slowly worked their way up to the Countess of Warwick's Sound, and there anchored in safety.

Another ship, the *Denis*, of 100 tons, was struck down by an iceberg and lost, with its cargo, comprising a great part of the moveable fort which was to be erected against winter, though fortunately not before its crew was saved by boats sent from some of the other ships. "This," says Captain Best, whose vivid sentences will best help us to understand the situation of the voyagers, "was a more fearful spectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm that presently followed threatened them the like fortune and danger.

For, the fleet being thus compassed on every side with ice, having left much behind them through which they passed, and finding more before them through which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden and terrible tempest, which, blowing from the main sea directly upon the place of the straits, brought together all the ice a-seaboard of us upon our backs, and thereby debarred us of returning back to recover sea room again; so that, being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devices sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little berth of sea room, did take in their sails and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds and the danger of the lesser fleeting ice. And, again, some were so fast shut up and compassed in among an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice that they were fain to commit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cable, beds, masts, planks, and such-like, which, being hanged overboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice. But as in greatest distress men of best valour are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what invincible mind every captain encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful mariners and poor

miners unacquainted with such extremities, to the everlasting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these great and extreme dangers. For some even without board upon the ice, and some within board upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, stood almost day and night, without any rest, bearing off the force and breaking the sway of the ice with such incredible pain and peril that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwise no doubt had stricken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former provision; for planks of timber of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigness, by the surging of the sea and billows with the ice, were shivered and cut in sunder at the sides of our ships. And amidst these extremes, whilst some laboured for the defence of the ships and sought to save their bodies, other some, of more mild spirit, sought to save their souls by devout prayer and meditation to the Almighty, thinking, indeed, by no other means possible than by a divine miracle to have their deliverance; so that there was none that were either idle or not well occupied; and he that held himself in best security had, God knoweth, but only bare hope remaining for his safety."

This grievous peril lasted for a day and a night. At length the storm abated, but hardly had the sea grown calm enough for Frobisher to muster his ships in the open sea, and there, during one pleasant day, within sight of a far greater iceberg than they had ever seen

before, to cause special thanksgivings to be offered up for their deliverance and to do something towards repairing the damage that had been done, than a heavy fog set in which lasted, with slight intermission, for twenty days.

The mariners tried to find their old resting-place at Hall's Island. But in the darkness they could not say whether the solid masses that they saw were land or rocks, or ice or denser lumps of fog. Keeping together with great difficulty, they wandered about until the 10th of July. On that day, the mist being partly removed, they found themselves opposite an opening in the coast, which Frobisher declared to be the straits named after him. Christopher Hall averred that it was not. Thereupon ensued a serious quarrel, in the course of which, says Hall himself, Frobisher fell into "a great rage, and swore, by God's wounds, that it was it, or else take his life." Hall held to his opinion, which proved to be the correct one, and, in mutinous mood, quitted the *Aid*, and, in the *Thomas Allen*, whose officer, Captain Yorke, the Vice-Admiral, sided with him, put out to sea again. Two other ships accompanied him, and he was soon joined by a third, the *Francis of Foy*, which, either by the fog or by the choice of its captain, had also been separated from the rest of the fleet. With these vessels he examined the coast as well as the mists would allow, reached the real Frobisher's Straits on the 18th of the month, and waited in the neighbourhood for a week, hoping to fall in with the other ships. He succeeded in rescuing two or three from the confusion in which they were sailing.

up and down, quite ignorant of their position and not knowing where to go, and with these he ultimately made his way up the straits, now tolerably clear of ice, as far as the Countess of Warwick's Sound, where, on the 2nd of August, he found that Frobisher and the main body of the fleet were already at anchor.

Frobisher in the meanwhile had discovered the great inlet afterwards known as Hudson's Straits. The opening which he had mistaken for Frobisher's Straits was really the passage between Resolution Island and the south-eastern corner of Meta Incognita. This he traversed, soon to find himself in a broad and inviting channel, out of which, with proper navigation, he might have made his way into the much-coveted passage to Cathay.* He saw at once that he had been at fault in his dispute with Hall, but the new waters in which he found himself were too tempting for him readily to turn back. He therefore pursued this route for about three hundred miles, using subterfuges to persuade his doubting followers that "they were in the right course and known straits."

This falsehood did not work its purpose. As Frobisher proceeded further through the wide and inviting chan-

* This would not, of course, have been the route, through Lancaster Sound and so into Barrow's Straits, followed by Sir John Franklin, and finally marked out by Captain M'Clintock, but a passage through Hudson's Straits and Fox's Channel into the Gulf of Boothia, leaving the group of islands which Frobisher had explored and all Cockburn Land to the right, and thus, by way of Regent's Inlet, making another entrance into Barrow's Strait. The great ice-blockings, increased by frequent windings of the passage, would have made this passage especially difficult; but Frobisher rightly inferred that it was possible.

nel, with ever-growing hope that here he was at last in the way of realizing his long-cherished project for reaching Cathay, the discontent of his companions increased in like proportion. It was nothing to them that the southern parts of *Meta Incognita*, along which they coasted, were found to be "more fruitful and better stored of grass, deer, wild fowl, bears, hares, foxes, and other things than any other part they had yet discovered, and more populous," or that, in occasional intercourse with the natives, they exchanged their bells and other trinkets for better commodities than they had hitherto procured, and saw the country people possessed of great boats large enough to hold twenty persons a-piece. At first in individual and temperate discourse, and then in general clamour, they requested to be taken to their appointed destination in the Countess of Warwick's Sound, and Frobisher was, in the end, forced to give way to them. He himself also felt that, in compliance with his instructions from England, and on behalf of the seven or eight ships of which he had lost sight and which he supposed had already made their way up Frobisher's Straits, it was right that, though sorely against his wishes, he should turn back.

This accordingly he did. He again entered the region of fog, and—with imminent risk of shipwreck, during which, we are told, the constant cry of the mariners was, "Lord, now help or never! now, Lord, look down from Heaven and save us sinners, or else our safety cometh too late!"—cleared the corner of *Meta Incognita* on the 23rd of July. There many of the

mariners, who believed that they had only just been saved from death by a special miracle wrought on their behalf, were unwilling to trust themselves any more to the mercies of God. They proposed at once to go home, leaving their missing comrades to their fate. There was fresh danger of a mutiny. "The remembrance of the perils past and those present to their face," says Captain Best, "brought no small fear and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. Some began privily to murmur against the general for his wilful manner of proceeding. Other some, forgetting themselves, spake more undutifully in this behalf, saying that they had as lief be hanged when they came home as, without hope of safety, to seek to pass and so to perish in the ice." But Frobisher mastered them, and, amid other storms and dangers, conveyed his fleet to the Countess of Warwick's Sound, which he reached on the 31st of July. There he was welcomed by the crews of the *Judith* and the *Michael*, which had been waiting ten days for him, and two days afterwards the rest of the fleet, led by Christopher Hall, arrived.

Special thanksgivings were offered up for this happy meeting; a godly sermon was preached; and the mutinous conduct of Hall and more than half of the crews, countenanced by many of the officers, was freely forgiven. But the mutinous spirit was by no means quenched. Christopher Hall openly declared that he had lost all the General's confidence, and could be of no further use in the enterprise; and his sullenness was shared by a great many others. Many of the crew, too, were made

ill by the serious pains and privations through which they had passed. Nearly all the ships were seriously damaged by the storms they had weathered and the icebergs and ice-rocks with which they had come in collision. A month had been wasted in reaching the Sound, and the best part of another month had to be spent in making good the injuries received. All these circumstances were, perforce, discouraging to Frobisher as well as to his followers. Moreover, he could not forget the new straits which he had discovered, and the hope thus quickened in the direction of fresh Cathayan enterprise. He therefore resolved that he would soon return to England, which, indeed, it was necessary for him to do, unless he chose to stay in the Arctic district all through the fast approaching winter.

During August, however, as much as possible was done both in further exploration of Frobisher's Straits and in collection of the ore which the ships were specially sent out to gather. The soundest vessels and the best crews were despatched in various directions, and thus some fresh though unimportant discoveries were made and a good deal of worthless mineral was brought together. In particular, Captain Best, with his own ship, the *Anne Francis*, and two others, went far up the inlet, though not far enough to find that Frobisher's Straits were really only a narrow bay, and collected much store of fancied treasure. Frobisher himself led another expedition, though of it we know little, as none of the chroniclers of the voyage seem to have been in his party.

Thus the month was passed, and, as it drew to a close, preparations were made for returning home. Most of the material for the intended winter fort had been lost in the *Denis*, and the intending colonists were not willing to stay longer in so inhospitable a region. Therefore all the materials that remained were put together in a great heap and cased in lime and stone, there to be available for use by the fresh expedition which, it was supposed, would be fitted out next year.*

* Tudor Englishmen never returned to Meta Incognita; but many traces of their visit were discovered by Captain C. F. Hall, the enterprising American explorer, in 1861 and 1862, nearly three centuries after the time to which they belong. In his journal of April 9, 1861, he says: "Among the traditions handed down from one generation to another there is this, that many, very many years ago some white men built a ship on one of the islands of Frobisher Bay and went away." While at Rescue Harbour he reports: "I had several conversations with an intelligent Esquimau, who spoke of a time long, long ago, when white men built a vessel on an island in the bay lower down (Frobisher Bay); spoke also of brick, timber, chips, &c., as having been left there" (*Life with the Esquimaux*, 1864, vol. i., pp. 271, 272). Passing up the bay, one of his native friends pointed out to him an island where "white men a long time ago had masted a ship" (vol. i., p. 278). In May he met an old woman, who told him that "the white men of the ships landed in Niountelik, an island near Oopungnewing," which Captain Hall identifies with the Countess of Warwick's Island. "She then proceeded to say, that upon Niountelik she had seen bricks and coal, and pieces of timber of various sizes. She had also heard from old Innuits that, many years before, ships had landed there with a great number of people. I asked her if she knew how many ships had come there? Her reply was, 'They came every year; first two, then three, then many—a great many ships.' The old lady further informed me that frequently, in her lifetime, she had seen wood, chips, coal, and bricks, and large pieces of very heavy stone, on the island of Niountelik. I asked her what kind of stone it was, and to this she replied, 'It was black and very heavy. No Innuits had ever seen such kind of stones before.'" Captain Hall adds, that this old woman told him also, "that further down the white people took away two Innuits women, who never came back again;

Then the fleet set out, leaving the Countess of Warwick's Sound in detachments, and meeting lower down,

that five white men were captured by Innuït people at the time of the appearance of the ships a great many years ago; that these men wintered on shore; that they lived among the Innuits; that they afterwards built a large boat, and put a mast into her, and had sails; that early in the season, before much water appeared, they endeavoured to depart; that, in the effort, some froze their hands; but that finally they succeeded in getting into open water, and away they went, which was the last seen or heard of them" (vol. i., pp. 302—304). On another day Captain Hall says that, while conversing with two Esquimaux, one of them showed him a piece of bright-coloured brick. "I then asked whence they got it; and both Innuits pointed to the island Niountelik, which was less than half a mile from where we stood." Another Esquimau, to whom he showed it, said, "Many of my acquaintances up the inlet have pieces of the same kind that came from that island" (vol. i., pp. 315, 316). In August Captain Hall carefully explored this island in search of Frobisher remains. There he found large quantities of coal, covered with moss and grass, but no other relics (vol. ii., pp. 77—80). In September he explored a neighbouring island, called by the natives Kodlunarn, and supposed by him to be the Countess of Warwick's Island. There he found "an excavation eighty-eight feet long and six feet deep," which he supposed to be one of Frobisher's fancied gold mines; also "coal, flint-stone, fragments of tile, glass and pottery; a trench made by the shore on an inclined plane, such as is used in building a ship on the stocks; the ruins of three stone houses, one of which was twelve feet in diameter, with palpable evidence of its having been erected on a foundation of stone, cemented together with lime and stone; and some chips of wood found on digging at the base of the ship's trench." On the same island he discovered "iron time-eaten, with ragged teeth, weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds, on the top of a granite rock, just within reach of high tide at full change of moon." "This island," he says, "is generally called Kodlunarn, because *white men* lived on it, and built stone houses and also a ship. From what I saw that day I was fully convinced that many, very many years ago, men of civilization did live upon the island, and that they did build a vessel, probably a schooner, there" (vol. ii., pp. 150—153). On another island in the same bay he found more coal, as much, he thought, as about five tons, "also a little pile of flint-stones, similar to those discovered in the coal at Niountelik, and in the cement of the stone-house ruins at Kodlunarn;" and nearly fifteen inches below the

on the 1st of September, at a harbour known as Bear's Sound. There the suppressed flame of discontent, that had been increasing during the last two months, rose to such a height, that it was even proposed by some of the mariners to follow the frequent example of Spanish voyagers and leave Frobisher behind. That evil thought, however, was not acted upon, and the company, robbed by death of about forty men, embarked on the 2nd of January.

They had hardly entered the open sea when they were harassed by renewal of the storms that had all along been so disastrous. The ships were dispersed,

surface of the ground, "a large chip, imbedded in the coal, which had the appearance of having been chopped out of a large piece of oak timber with an axe" (vol. iii., p. 157). On another visit to Kodlunarn, "a piece of iron, semi-spherical in shape, weighing twenty pounds, was discovered under the stone that had been excavated for the 'ship's way,' and many other small pieces were found at the head of the trench: fragments of tile were found all over the island, and numerous other relics, indicating that civilized men had visited the place very many years ago" (vol. ii., p. 161). In June, 1862, Captain Hall received two other relics from Kodlunarn, a piece of very old brick or tile, two inches long, one inch thick, and one and a half wide, and a musket ball. "The ball had several small indentations upon its surface, and the whole of it was covered with a white coat (oxide of lead), in consequence of long exposure. It is $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of an inch in diameter" (vol. ii., p. 283). In July he went again to Kodlunarn, and there saw "very clear evidences of the existence of a blacksmith forge or a furnace" (vol. ii. p. 293).

I have quoted, for the most part, in Captain Hall's own words, and in chronological order, his account of his discoveries of Frobisher relics, which are now lodged in the Greenwich Hospital Museum. He also gives some further traditions received from natives in various parts, from which and from the relics he considers it to be unquestionable that these are really all of them relics of Frobisher's three voyages, and that the site of Frobisher's intended colony, or the Countess of Warwick's Island, was the native Kodlunarn. These highly interesting conclusions can hardly be controverted.

and several of them were in great danger of destruction. The *Aid*, with Frobisher on board, was nearly wrecked and its pinnacle was lost. The *Emmanuel of Bridgewater* was in yet greater danger, and only saved by careful steering through rocks that had not hitherto been seen, and coming out at the mouth of Hudson's Straits. This ship, quite separated from the others, passed a huge iceberg on the 12th of September, which was supposed to be an island somewhere to the south of Greenland, and which became a cause of great confusion to later map-makers and navigators.

Contrary winds and heavy storms befel the voyagers nearly all through their homeward way; and we have no distinct account of its various incidents. All the ships reached England, however, arriving, one or two at a time, at various ports, near the beginning of October.

They were heartily welcomed, and at first there was great expectation of profit from the large supplies of mineral that they brought home. But the mineral was soon declared to be inferior to that previously collected, and, as the gold refiners, who in the interval had been working at the previous importation, had been able to get no gold out of it, the rejoicings were soon exchanged for open expressions of discontent among courtiers, merchants, and common folk alike.

Thereupon ensued a complication of quarrels and vituperation very discreditable to all the parties concerned. The officers and mariners whom Frobisher had found it very hard to keep from open mutiny during the expedition now uttered their abuses without restraint,

and those who had risked their money upon the project, glad enough to find an object for their wrath, readily listened to and adopted the complaints. Michael Lock, Frobisher's fast friend in time of prosperity, now led the opposition to him. Frobisher, always an impetuous man, quite lost his temper, and seems to have given back abuse for all the abuse that was heaped upon him. Lock having, as treasurer of the Cathay Company, refused to pay Frobisher the salary that was due to him, and this in spite of special orders from the Privy Council, Frobisher publicly complained that he was "a false accountant to the Company, a cozener to my Lord of Oxford, no venturer at all in the voyages, a bankrupt knave." Lock, in a long memorial to Sir Francis Walsingham, complained that Frobisher had "entered into great storms and rages with him like a mad beast, and raised on him such shameful reports and false slanders as the whole Court and City was full of." Many others made like complaints. Thomas Allen, deputy-treasurer, begged that he might be discharged "rather than be thus railed at for his pains." An anonymous memorialist, probably Lock, indulged in forty pages of slander, going over nearly the whole of Frobisher's career, all to the effect that Frobisher was an arrogant, obstinate, insolent, and prodigal knave, "full of lying talk, impudent of tongue, and perchance the most unprofitable of all that have served the Company." Before starting on his third voyage, we are here told, Frobisher had indulged in "no small raging and outrageous speaking." Even then, it was said,

being thwarted on some point, "he flung out of the doors, and swore, by God's wounds, that he would hip my masters the adventurers for it;" and it was alleged that all the mischances of the expedition had resulted from his wilful neglect of duty. Not having the wit to make discoveries for himself, "his vain-glorious mind would not suffer any discovery to be made without his own presence," and therefore the whole enterprise had fallen to the ground. Coming home, and finding that he met with less favour than he expected, it was said, there were no bounds to his fury. On one occasion he had gone to a gold refiner on Tower Hill, and finding him "naked at his works and very sick, almost to death, of infection of the smoke of the minerals," he had in the course of a dispute drawn his dagger on him. At another time, when Edward Sellman was taking an inventory of the stores brought home, Frobisher was said to have beaten him, and nearly cloven his head with a dagger.*

There was plenty more of such libelling. If a tithe of the accusations brought against Frobisher are to be believed, he was a man utterly contemptible, and quite unfit for the work confided to him. His skilful management of his business, his wise care of all the people under him, and his generous bearing towards the natives of the districts that he visited, are sufficient refutations of them. At the same time, we can easily

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxxvi., Nos. 20, 22, 34; vol. cxxvii., Nos. 8, 20; vol. cxxix., Nos. 9, 44; vol. cxxx., No. 17, &c.; BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Lansdowne*, c., No. 1.

understand—and this conclusion is borne out by some circumstances in his later history—that finding himself blamed both for things that were not blameworthy, and for matters in which others were quite as much at fault as he was, he, too, got angry, and showed his anger in undignified ways.

It is not necessary to follow this ugly quarrel through all its tedious details, or to describe the numerous experiments that were made upon the worthless stone that had been brought home before people were convinced that it would be utter waste of money, energy, and life to carry on the search for gold in *Meta Incognita*, or any of the districts visited by Frobisher. This hope of gold was altogether unfortunate. By it the Cathay Company and Frobisher himself were prevented from carrying on the search for a passage round the northern part of America during the expeditions of 1577 and 1578; and by it, the real nature of the ore being discovered, Frobisher was prevented from prosecuting the search and from following up the great discovery of the channel, afterwards known as Hudson's Straits, which he had made during his third voyage.

There was much talk, however, of a fourth voyage to be undertaken by Frobisher. The Cathay Company had fallen to pieces upon the failure of the efforts to extract gold from the mineral on which the hopes of its members had been chiefly set; and Michael Lock, its treasurer and chief promoter, concerning whom it is impossible to decide whether he really deserved all the blame that was heaped upon him for his management

of the accounts, but who certainly was a great sufferer from the failure, had been thrown into the Fleet Prison at the suit of William Burrough, of whom a ship had been bought for 200*l.* but never paid for.* But while the City men refused to have any more to do with Cathayan projects, the idea continued in favour with many influential courtiers. Among them its chief friend seems to have been the great Earl of Leicester. In September, 1581, he wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, saying that he proposed to embark 3,000*l.* upon a new adventure if others would join with him. The Earl of Shrewsbury promised to fit out his bark, the *Talbot*, which, including the furniture, would represent 1,000*l.*† Sir Francis Drake, lately returned from his voyage round the world, offered, besides the best advice he could bestow, to give the equivalent of another 1,000*l.* by fitting out either a ship of 180 tons or a little bark that he had just built and a couple of pinnaces.‡ Other subscriptions were readily obtained; 500*l.* from the Earl of Oxford, 300*l.* from Frobisher himself, 300*l.* from Edward Fenton and his friends, and 200*l.* apiece from the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, and some others, making in all 11,600*l.*§ It was arranged that three ships and a pinnace should be

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxlix., No. 42; BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, Otho viii., fol. 44.

† BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, Otho viii., fol. 95.

‡ *Ibid.*, fol. 97.

§ *Ibid.*, fols. 104—106.

made ready for the enterprise, and that other ships should be added if more money could be obtained.

Frobisher was in high glee, and waited anxiously for the instructions that were issued to him in February, 1582. There was one clause in these instructions, however, which seems to have taken him altogether by surprise. Some of the new partners in the project procured a complete change in its purpose. "We will," it was said, "that this voyage shall be only for trade and not for discovery of the passage to Cathay, otherwise than if, without hindrance of your trade and within 40 degrees of latitude, you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall do well to be inquisitive as occasion in this sort may serve."* With this order, quite at variance with the scheme which he had most at heart, Frobisher seems to have refused to comply. At any rate, his name was taken out of the instructions, and Edward Fenton's was put in its stead. The expedition which started in April was changed into an enterprise for trade or piracy in the South Seas, and accordingly all that needs to be said about it must be said in a later chapter. Frobisher had nothing more to do with it.

Of the way in which he occupied himself during the few years previous to and following this proposal for renewing the Cathayan search we know very little. In or near the year 1580, he had received from the Crown a reversionary title to the office of Clerk of Her Majesty's

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, Otho viii., fols. 87—92.

ships;* but we are not told when, if ever, he really entered upon this work.† That he stood in need of some remunerative employment is tolerably clear. There is extant a curious letter, undated, but evidently written between 1576 and 1578, addressed by his wife, Dame Isabel Frobisher, “the most miserable poor woman in the world,” to Sir Francis Walsingham. In it, “in her most lamentable manner,” she complained that, whereas her former husband, Thomas Riggat, a very wealthy man, had left her with ample portions for herself and all her children, her present husband—“whom God forgive!”—had spent everything, and “put them to the wide world to shift.” She and her children, she said, were starving in a poor room at Hampstead; and therefore she begged Walsingham to help her in recovering a debt of 4*l.* due to her husband, and so to keep them from famishing until Captain Frobisher’s return.‡

It is to be feared that when Captain Frobisher returned he was not able to do very much towards restoring the money that he had borrowed from his wife.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Warrant Book*, vol. i., p. 118.

† He was employed as captain of one of the Queen’s ships, the *Fore-sight*, in preventing the Spaniards from giving all the assistance they desired to the Irish insurgents in Munster, under James Fitzmaurice, in 1580; but of this we have no useful details.—RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Irish*, vol. lxxxiii., No. 35; vol. lxxxiv., No. 56; vol. lxxxvi., Nos. 64, 71, 72.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cli., No. 17.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLONIZING PROJECTS OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

[1574—1583.]

FROM active participation in the Cathayan enterprise, of which he was chief promoter, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was deterred, either by the jealousy of the men who superseded him in the work or by his own dissatisfaction at being thus superseded, or by both motives together. But he was at no loss for other and kindred ways in which to show his love of adventure and his anxiety to forward his country's welfare. While he was writing his 'Discourse to prove a Passage to Cathay,' we find him, in conjunction with other gentlemen of the west parts of England, among whom Sir Richard Grenville, Sir George Peckham, and Christopher Carlile were the principal, planning an expedition for the discovery of "sundry rich and unknown lands" in the more southern districts of America. On the 22nd of March, 1574, he and his friends addressed a petition to Queen Elizabeth on the subject, urging that this discovery was "fatally reserved for England and for the honour of Her Majesty;" and on the same day they

wrote to the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral of England, bespeaking his help in furtherance of the work, and explaining more fully the advantages that would certainly come from a voyage to the parts south of the equinoctial line, which were rapidly being appropriated by Spanish adventurers.* But neither petition nor letter seems to have met with much favour, and we hear nothing more of this particular scheme.

Another abortive project is set forth in a discourse, of which there is little doubt that Gilbert was the author, showing "how Her Majesty might annoy the King of Spain" by fitting out a fleet of war-ships under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and so fall upon the enemy's shipping, destroy his trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies, and possess both regions. Gilbert offered to conduct this expedition, and begged that it might be entered upon at once, seeing that "the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death."† The proposal is dated the 6th of November, 1577. It was not complied with, Queen Elizabeth having quite enough to do in keeping within bounds the schemes for annoying the King of Spain that were being enforced by Hawkins, Drake, and other men already engaged upon the business.

But in another and kindred project, which soon afterwards he propounded, he easily obtained the Queen's approval. On the 11th of June, 1578, was granted to

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xcv., Nos. 63, 64.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxviii., No. 12. The signature to this document is carefully erased, but it appears to have been H. GYLBERTE.

him a charter for discovering and possessing any distant and barbarous lands which he could find, provided they were not already claimed by any Christian prince or people, and on condition that all cities, castles, towns, and villages that he might found or conquer, were held by him under the Crown of England, and paid for with the fifth that in all such cases was claimed by the sovereign. He was authorised to plant a colony and to be absolute governor both of the Englishmen and of the natives dwelling in it, the only restriction being that his rule should be, "as near as conveniently might be," in harmony with the laws and policy of England.*

That charter Gilbert proceeded, as quickly as possible, to make use of. Towards fitting out a suitable expedition he seems to have employed the long arrears of pay lately issued to him on account of his services in Ireland. A goodly number of enterprising men, many of them destined hereafter to take famous part in the history of their country, also assisted him both with money and with personal attendance. Among them were George and William Carew, Edward Denny, Henry Nowell, Henry and Francis Knollys, and Miles Morgan. The greatest of all was his stepbrother, Walter Raleigh. †

Raleigh, now twenty-six years old, was the youngest son of Walter Raleigh, a Devonshire gentleman, by his third wife, Catharine, the widow of Otho Gilbert, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's mother. He had studied at

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 135—137.

† HOLLINSHED, vol. iii., p. 1369.

Oxford, had gone to France with his and Gilbert's cousin, Henry Champernon, in 1569, to fight as a volunteer in the Huguenot cause, and, after five years thus spent, had entered on a further pupilage in fighting under Sir John Norris in the Netherlands. Thence he soon returned to England. "The slender pay," says one of his old biographers, "was not encouragement sufficient to make him stay long in the service. Being restless and impatient of a narrow and low condition, and his merits not answered with a fortune strong enough to buoy up his reputation, he was resolved to leave no stone unturned nor any method of living unexperimented; and, since his land expeditions could make no addition to his fortunes, novelty, and a desire of putting himself into a better capacity, urged him to a sea voyage." *

Like or worse motives seem to have actuated several others of Gilbert's partners, all "gentlemen of good calling," and they were not calculated to bring success to the enterprise. With a fleet of eleven ships, containing five hundred gentlemen and sailors, Gilbert quitted Dartmouth on the 23rd of September.† He was hardly out of port when his "gentlemen of good calling" began to show themselves too good for their work. Concerning them, we are told by one of the number, that "their dispositions were divers, which bred a feud, and made a division in the end, to the confusion

* Cited in the continuation to SOUTHEY'S *British Admirals*, vol. iv., p. 211.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxxv., No. 70.

of the attempt even before it was begun.”* Disputes arose between Gilbert and Henry Knollys, which resulted in the refusal of Knollys and some others to continue in the expedition, and the whole fleet had to put back into Plymouth Harbour, where more than a month was wasted in altercations and in waiting for the decision of the Mayor of Plymouth on the subject of variance.† At length, on the 18th of November another start was made, the number of ships being now reduced to seven. Then the former troubles were repeated. It appears—though even this is not quite certain—to have been Gilbert’s purpose to plant his colony somewhere on the North American coast, south of Newfoundland, and as near as possible to the West Indian possessions of Spain. But many of his comrades had set their hearts on a preliminary attack upon the Spanish possessions themselves, and, Gilbert being persuaded to agree to this, the ships took their course in a south-westerly direction. That ill-advised measure brought ruin to the whole project. Falling in with some Spanish vessels, the fleet, which was not adapted for warfare, was worsted in a sturdy sea fight. Many of the adventurers were slain, and the ships, battered and disabled, were forced to put in at Cape de Verde. There Gilbert found that many of his associates had lost heart, and that it was impossible with the residue to have any chance of success in carrying on the project. Therefore, to his great chagrin, he

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 146.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxxvi., Nos. 44, 46, 49.

abandoned it, and returned to Plymouth in May, 1579.*

In that failure Sir Humphrey had sunk all his money and all his influence, as far as his colonizing project was concerned, at Court. The project was not abandoned by him. He worked steadily for its accomplishment, and used every opportunity of collecting information and storing experience that might enable him to avoid the disasters of his first effort. But in the meanwhile he turned to other employment.

This employment was chiefly in Ireland, which, after the infinitely worthier battleground of the Netherlands, was the chief school of rough soldiership and rude statecraft for Elizabethan Englishmen. Gilbert, as we have seen, had already proved himself, both in soldiership and in diplomacy, a skilful abettor of the policy, marked by scant justice and scanter mercy, which Elizabeth and her counsellors thought fit to use towards their unfortunate dependency. While he himself was busied in other ways, Gilbert's Band, as it continued to be called, had been found a formidable instrument in restraining the lawless but patriotic attempt at recovering independence, which went by the name of rebellion; and it was a common request of those whom he had left behind, that Gilbert might be sent back to them to help in restoring order.†

The request was complied with almost immediately

* HOLLINSHED, vol. iii., p. 1369; CAYLEY, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Appendix, p. 6.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Irish*, vol. xlvi., No. 26.

after Gilbert's return from his unfortunate expedition. In the summer of 1579 he was sent back to Ireland, and Raleigh went with him. Their first service, apparently in one or two of the ships that they had lately brought home, reinforced by others, was in resisting the attempt made by James Fitzmaurice, with the help of half a dozen Spanish ships, to promote insurrection along the coast of Munster. Sir John Perrot was the admiral in command of the Queen's ships detailed for this service, and under him Gilbert held an important position. Zealous work was soon done by him, and then he was sent home to England.*

Raleigh remained in Ireland, and outdid his step-brother in the harshness with which he applied himself to his ugly task. He was one of the two principal officers employed in November, 1580, by Lord Grey of Wilton, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, in capturing a fort built by the Spaniards at St. Mary Wick, commonly called Smerwick, in Kerry. This formidable and insolent measure for aiding the Irish rebellion naturally gave great offence to the English; and when the fort was captured, all the Spaniards, six hundred in number, were ruthlessly put to death, after having laid down their arms, by the troops under Captains Raleigh and Mackworth. Lord Grey, having ordered the massacre, "shed tears thereat." Raleigh seems to have done his bloody work without compunction, and the poet Spenser, who looked on at it as Secretary to the Lord-Deputy,

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Irish*, vol. lxxvii., Nos. 40, 47, 65, 66; vol. lxxix., Nos. 67, 72; *Domestic*, vol. cxxxii., No. 25.

defended it as absolutely necessary in itself if discipline was to be maintained in Ireland, and no more than wholesome vengeance due to the Spaniards for the villanies by which they had put themselves out of the pale of civilization.*

After doing other work in Ireland, Raleigh returned to England in December, 1581, or January, 1582, Barry's Island having been granted to him for his services.† He was sent back in April, with special orders from the Queen that he was to be further employed at the head of a body of horse; but, as Lord Grey reported that "he liked not Captain Raleigh's carriage or company," his stay seems to have been short.‡ Therefore he was used at Court as adviser concerning the best means of subduing the Irish rebels.§ He was also put to much other courtly use, all starting, according to the well-known tradition, from his alacrity, during his attendance upon Her Majesty in the early months of 1582, in throwing down his cloak, then almost his only property, for Queen Elizabeth to tread upon while walking over a gutter.

No such good fortune fell to his stepbrother. There is a letter written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Sir Francis Walsingham, in July, 1581, from his house in Sheppey, begging that he might be paid a little sum of money owing for the work that he had done in Ireland

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Irish*, vol. lxviii., Nos. 25—33; CAMDEN, *Elizabeth*, p. 243; SPENSER, *View of Ireland*.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Irish*, vol. lxxxvii., No. 2; vol. lxxxviii., No. 40.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xci., No. 3; vol. xcii., No. 10.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. xcvi., Nos. 30, 31.

in 1579, whereby, he said, he had lost so much that he was reduced to utter want. It was a miserable thing, he added, that, after seven-and-twenty years' service, he should now be subjected to daily arrests, executions, and outlawries, and have even to sell his wife's clothes from off her back.*

- He needed money, not only for his present maintenance, but also for furtherance of the colonizing scheme to which he had devoted himself. The charter conferred upon him by Queen Elizabeth stipulated that his colony should be founded within six years of the date of the document. This made him doubly anxious to continue, without delay, the work in which his first attempt had failed. Delay was necessary, however, in consequence of his poverty. During four years, Gilbert could do nothing but quicken public interest, especially the interest of his friends at Court, and collect all available information about the portion of America which was his on paper.

There was no lack of information, though it was not all very trustworthy. The island of Newfoundland, or Baccalaos, was by this time well known to Europeans. Almost immediately after its discovery by the elder Cabot trading voyages to it in search of cod had begun to be made; but in this work the Englishmen were less zealous than the Spaniards or the French. The older fishing-trade with Iceland carried on by merchants of Bristol, Hull, and other ports, was preferred to the more hazardous commerce, as it was thought, with Newfoundland. At

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxlix., No. 66.

the same time this latter was not neglected. In 1544 there were many English merchant-ships engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries. Anthony Parkhurst, an intelligent merchant of Bristol, reported, in 1578, that he had been annually to Newfoundland in the four years past, that during that time the English fishing fleet had increased from thirty to fifty sail, and that, although the French sent nearly a hundred and fifty boats, the Spaniards about a hundred, and the Portuguese some fifty, the English, by reason of the greater strength of their vessels, were masters of the trade. He urged that they should follow it in much greater numbers, seeing that it was an excellent school for trade, and a boundless source of wealth.*

This, however, was too tame a calling to be of much interest to the gentlemen adventurers of Queen Elizabeth's Court. Their projects were directed to the more southern districts on the main land adjoining the Spanish province, vaguely known as Florida, and about which, in common with Florida, many wonderful traditions were still rife, all to be traced to the credulity with which early travellers, prepared for them by their remembrance of Cathayan fables, listened to the exaggerated reports that came to them of the ancient wealth and civilization of the Aztecs in Mexico. These traditions were carefully gathered up in England, and they are set forth in a document which appears to have been drawn up for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's guidance in 1581 or 1582. There we are told of the exceeding wealth of

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 133.

the natives, and the surpassing richness of the country. Great pieces of pure gold, as large as a man's fist, were to be picked up in the heads of some of the rivers, and there were plenty of gold and silver mines that could be worked without trouble. In every cottage there was a store of pearls, and in some houses they were to be measured by the peck. There were cities traversed by streets broader and handsomer than any to be found in London, containing banqueting houses that were built of crystal, with pillars of massive silver and gold. The soldiers, who were generally women, were covered with armour plates of solid gold; and the devil whom they worshipped for a god was in the likeness of a golden calf. One traveller had received a hundred pieces of silver for a worn-out flag. In this country there were also wonderful birds and animals, "great beasts as big as two of our oxen," and fiery dragons, "which make the air very red as they fly."*

Of that sort were the stories derived from old travellers like Verrazano and Jacques Cartier and from living Englishmen who had lately made their way to America. Among the latter was Simon Ferdinando, a follower of Sir Francis Walsingham, who, in 1579, visited the coast in a little frigate, Andrew Thevett, and John Walker, who reported that, in 1580, he had discovered a silver mine. With the two latter, as well as with some others, we are told that Sir Humphrey Gilbert "did confer in person."†

Gilbert conferred with many persons. Finding it

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Colonial*, vol. i., No. 2.

† *Ibid.*

impossible to raise enough money of his own, or to borrow it from his friends without due recompense, he resolved to assign some of the privileges granted in his charter to other speculators, on condition that their enterprises should be carried on under his supervision.* The result was that, in the summer of 1583, after two years occupied with "difficulties and accidents," he was able to set out on his long-cherished project.

His chief associates were Raleigh and his old friends Sir George Peckham and Christopher Carlile.† Raleigh fitted out a bark of 200 tons' burthen, named the *Raleigh*, which had lately been built for his private use. The other vessels appointed for the expedition were the *Delight*, which was also called the *George*, of 120 tons, the *Golden Hind* and the *Swallow*, each of 40 tons, and the *Squirrel*, of 10 tons. In these five ships provision was made for gentlemen, soldiers, sailors, carpenters, miners, and others, numbering two hundred and sixty. "For solace of the people and amusement of the savages," we are told, "we were provided with music in great variety, not omitting the least toys, as morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and many like conceits, to

* "Articles of agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and such of Southampton as adventure with him," are among the RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clv., No. 86.

† A request was made by Carlile, at the beginning of 1583, for the grant of a separate patent in favour of a colony to be planted at some little distance from Gilbert's settlement, towards the expenses of which he said the City of London would furnish 3,000*l.* and Bristol 1,000*l.*; but it does not seem to have been complied with.—RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Colonial*, vol. i., No. 1, where the date is erroneously given as 1574. A 'Discourse' of Carlile's, dated April, 1587, is in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 182—187.

delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible; and to that end we were indifferently furnished with all pretty haberdashery wares to barter with these simple people.”*

If Gilbert had felt himself to be aggrieved at his hard treatment by Queen Elizabeth during the few years previous, there was now some show of royal favour to comfort him. “Brother,” said Raleigh in a letter to him written shortly before his departure, “I have sent you a token from Her Majesty, an anchor guided by a lady as you see”—that is, a golden anchor with a large pearl attached to it. “And further Her Highness willed me to send you word that she wished you as great a good hap as if she herself were there in person, desiring you to have care of yourself as of that which she tendereth; and therefore, for her sake, you must provide for it accordingly. Further she commandeth that you leave your picture with me.”†

If Gilbert's first expedition had been entered upon without due preparation, there was now no lack of caution. It had been at first intended that the voyagers should proceed in a south-westerly direction, and then, passing the West Indies with a curve to the north, explore the coast of America until they reached a suitable spot at which to make a settlement. From this the mishaps of the former undertaking deterred them. It was decided that they should go direct to Newfoundland, and thence pass southward in search of a convenient site for the colony. Careful arrangements

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 148.

† CAYLEY, vol. i., p. 31.

were made for the guidance of the fleet during the voyage, and it was ordered that if the ships were separated by fogs or storms, they were to proceed separately, in the first instance, to Cape Race and afterwards to Cape Breton, thence to continue their way together.*

Yet Gilbert's second expedition was even more unfortunate than the first. The fleet had hardly sailed out of Plymouth Harbour, on the 11th of June, 1583, when it was deserted by the *Raleigh*, on the plea that its captain, William Winter, and many of its crew were dangerously ill. This, of course, was only an excuse, and it is not clear that Raleigh was not in some sort a party to the foul play. "Sure I am," says Captain Hayes, the chronicler of the voyage, "no cost was spared by their owner, Master Raleigh, in setting them forth; therefore I leave it unto God." The four smaller vessels proceeded on their way. Losing sight of England on the 15th of June, they passed through a series of fogs and storms which lasted for thirteen days. Thereby the *Delight* and the *Golden Hind* were separated from the *Swallow* and the *Squirrel*; but Gilbert, sailing on, found the *Swallow*, which, being manned chiefly by pirates, had in the interval been put by them to piratical work, a month afterwards off the coast of Newfoundland. He sighted its northern promontory

* All the information about this voyage is derived from an interesting narrative by Edward Hayes, the captain of the *Golden Hind*, from a shorter narrative by Richard Clarke, and from allusions in a treatise on 'Western Plantation,' by Sir George Peckham, all in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 143—161, 163—165, 165—181.

on the 30th of July, but was deterred from landing by dense fogs through which he could see nothing but dangerous rocks. Therefore he passed on to Saint John's Harbour, there to find the *Squirrel* waiting for him at the mouth of the bay. The merchants and fishermen, who, in six and thirty vessels, were lodging there, had looked on it with suspicion and forbidden its anchoring among them. But, on Gilbert's arrival and exhibition of his credentials, they gave him welcome, and both Englishmen and foreigners readily submitted to his authority. Gilbert, being in want of provisions, levied from the merchants a small tax to supply his needs, and this they willingly agreed to and even exceeded. Gilbert and his crew were feasted, in the various trading ships, upon "wines, marmalades, most fine rusk or biscuit, sweet oil, and sundry delicacies."

On Sunday, the 4th of August, the day after his coming into the harbour, Gilbert went on shore and surveyed the neighbourhood. He was so pleased with it, and with the reports of the traders, that he at once resolved to make Saint John's the centre of his colony. On Monday he called together all his own people and all the Englishmen and foreigners who were already there, explained to them the tenor of his charter from Queen Elizabeth, and proceeded to take formal possession of the district in Her Majesty's name. In anticipation of the public laws that were to be propounded, he at once announced three cardinal rules for the guidance of all residents and visitors. These certainly were simple enough. The first appointed that all the public religion

of the country should be in accordance with the practices of the Church of England. The second ordered that, if any one did or attempted anything prejudicial to the Queen's authority, he should be tried and executed for high treason. The third provided that, "if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of Her Majesty, he should lose his ears and have his ship and goods confiscate." Thereto all agreed, and the traders gladly consented to join with the colonists in paying rent or tax to the governor, in return for the protection to be afforded to them by the erection of a fort and the establishment of English customs and institutions. Amid the acclamation of all there was planted in a prominent place a high wooden pillar, surmounted by the arms of England engraven on lead, and the first English colony was fairly inaugurated.

For a few days Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a happy man. He saw the beginning of almost regal power to himself and a long succession of descendants; and this regal power, in the goodness of his heart, he hoped to use in the great advancement of England's welfare and in the conferment of yet greater benefits upon the natives of his adopted home. Loyalty to God, and loyalty to the Queen; these were all the laws which he deemed it necessary to make, and with them, as with a two-edged sword, he thought that he could baffle every difficulty and overcome every danger. These being obeyed, he considered that a sure road to success was before him, and that there was nothing left for him to do but to lead his comrades on to a glorious success, in which the

least advantage to be expected, though that would be enough to satisfy the most rapacious, was their personal advancement in wealth and fame, and every element of worldly honour.

It was a short-lived hope. With admirable intentions, Gilbert lacked the forethought, tact, and perseverance necessary to the planter of a successful colony. Sharing the impetuous courage of the founders of Spanish rule in America, and approaching his work in a far worthier spirit than was shown by most of them, he was behind them in the capacity for quietly mastering difficulties, and patiently organizing the machinery of a new settlement in a strange region, in which even they were for the most part sadly deficient. And this was of far greater importance to the colony which Gilbert proposed to establish in the winter-oppressed island of Newfoundland than to the Spanish plantations in the West Indies, favoured with perennial summer, with ample stores of fruits that grew without cultivation, and with little need for labour in building houses, and providing against bad weather. Gilbert seems to have thought little of the preparations, without which it would have been impossible for his followers to live through the hard season of cold and rain and fog that was beginning even at the time of his arrival. All that he did was to repair his ships, to store them with food, and to make arrangements for exploration in the neighbourhood of his adopted home.

Perhaps, however, the wisest and most prudent of men would have been able to fare no better than he

did. It would have been impossible to plant a thriving colony with such colonists as he had brought with him. Some were honest men who set themselves honestly to the hard work that had to be done. But most of them were raw adventurers, landsmen who did not choose to toil, and sailors who alleged that they were unable to toil anywhere but at sea and on ship-board; and many were lawless fellows, pirates and robbers, who had been taken out of prison and forced upon Gilbert in the foolish belief that, when removed from the scenes of their past misdeeds, they would change into good and peaceable servants.

The result was one that no prophet was needed to foretell. The bad men soon made converts of the weak men, and Gilbert had not been a fortnight in Newfoundland before he found himself at the head of a society which no possible machinery of government—unless, indeed, he had brought with him a little army of gaolers to rule a little colony of convicts—could turn to good, and which he had no efficient means of governing at all. Some of his people ran away into the woods and there lived as wild men. Others gave themselves up to idleness and drunkenness. The worst amused themselves with practising upon their neighbours, and especially upon the traders who were now preparing to go home with their stores of fish, the piracy and robbery in which they had previously been adepts. The best begged that they might be taken back to England, or anywhere away from the lawlessness by which they were surrounded in their new home.

To that request, with a heavy heart, Sir Humphrey Gilbert assented. Leaving the *Swallow* to carry home, as soon as they could be removed, several of his followers who were sick, and some others who wished to go direct to England, he left Saint John's with his three other ships on the 20th of August, less than three weeks after his arrival. He intended to make a careful search of the coast towards the south, believing that next year he would certainly be able to return with a better and better-furnished company to Saint John's, or to some more suitable spot, if such should be found in the course of his exploration. During eight days he made but little way, his ships being becalmed off the northern shore of Newfoundland. On the 28th they sighted Cape Breton Isle, where Gilbert intended to land. But then the crew of the *Swallow*, who had always been the most troublesome of the party, and who had been transferred at the time of starting to the *Delight*, in order that a well-behaved company might be left in charge of the sick and faint-hearted, turned mutinous. They refused to follow the others into the harbour, and in the end sailed out in the direction of the open sea. Hoping to outsail the two vessels that gave them chase, they struck against a rock, and thus the *Delight* and more than a hundred men were lost, together with nearly all the provisions that had been laid up for the homeward voyage.

Thus Gilbert was left alone with the two smallest vessels of his fleet of five, the *Golden Hind* and the *Squirrel*. He himself was in the little *Squirrel*, which

he preferred, both because it seemed the fittest for close following of the coast-line, and because its crew, deeming it hardly seaworthy, were afraid to be left alone. During three days the ships were sorely beaten about by storms, vainly attempting to enter the harbour, and barely saved from shipwreck amid the mountainous waves and among the treacherous rocks and sandbanks. On the last day of August, Gilbert resolved to try no longer. Summoning the chief officers of the *Golden Hind* on board the *Squirrel*, and hearing from them complaints similar to those made by his own small crew, he gave orders for immediate return to England. "Be content," he said; "we have run enough, and take no care of expenses past. I will set you forth royally next spring, if God send us safe home. Let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements."

Fierce winds and angry seas perplexed them still. On the 2nd of September Sir Humphrey Gilbert went on board the *Golden Hind*, and bade its people "to make merry." He could not be merry himself. "He was out of measure grieved," says Captain Hayes, who very unjustly supposed that his chief cause of grief was the loss, in the *Delight*, of some mineral which he had collected, and which he thought to be rich silver ore. Hayes could not see that there was ground enough for grief in the loss of three-quarters of his followers and the failure of his second effort at colonization. Gilbert resolved that it should only be a temporary failure, and that he would do his very utmost

to retrieve his misfortunes, and that upon the scene of the disasters. "Whereas he never before had good conceit of these northern parts," we are told, "now his mind was wholly fixed upon the Newfoundland. Laying down his determination for the voyage to be re-attempted in the spring following, he assigned the captain and master of the *Golden Hind* unto the south discovery, and reserved unto himself the north, affirming that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether."

Over and over again the crew of the *Golden Hind* urged him to stay with them, instead of trusting his precious life to the ill-furnished and unsafe *Squirrel*. This he steadily refused to do. "I will not forsake my little company going homeward," he said, "with whom I have passed so many storms and perils."

With them he passed through another week of storms and perils, and then all was over. Throughout that week the voyagers battled with waves and winds so terrible that men who had been all their lives at sea declared they had never seen the like before. On the 9th of September the storm was at its highest. All day long the mariners of the *Golden Hind*, itself a mere waif upon the surging ocean, saw the little *Squirrel* tossing up and down, seeming to be engulfed by every wave as it covered the puny boat from stem to stern. But all day long Sir Humphrey Gilbert was at its helm, and, as often as the two ships came within ear-shot, the men of the *Golden Hind* heard him uttering brave words of cheer and comfort. "Courage, my

friends," he shouted; "we are as near to heaven by sea as on the land!"

The noble words were ringing in their ears when, at midnight, they saw the *Squirrel* burst asunder, in a moment to be swallowed up by the waters.

The *Golden Hind* reached Falmouth on the 22nd of September, and when the dismal story of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's misfortunes and the heroic ending of them was told, Englishmen forgave him for any rashness and indiscretion that he had been guilty of, and, treasuring up his dying speech, entered with new zest upon the grand work of American colonization which he had been the first systematically to attempt.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S VIRGINIA.

[1584—1590.]

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S successor in the effort to establish in North America an English colonial empire which should rival the possessions of Spain in the central and southern parts of the continent, was his stepbrother, Walter Raleigh. To him, on the 25th of March, 1584, Queen Elizabeth issued letters patent authorizing him, in terms similar to those employed in Gilbert's charter, to discover and take possession of any district not yet appropriated by Europeans, and assigning to him and his heirs perpetual governorship of any colony that he might found within the next six years.*

Raleigh lost no time in making use of the privileges thus conferred upon him. Keeping the business in his own hands, spending his own money, and giving his own directions, he fitted out two small vessels, which left Plymouth on the 27th of April. Their captains were Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow.

Their instructions were to explore the eastern shores of America from Florida upwards, to note especially the

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 243—245.

fitness of each part of the coast for colonization, and then without delay to bring home a report of their observations. All this was done very successfully. The voyagers reached the Canaries on the 10th of May. Thence they proceeded slowly to the Bahamas, and spent twelve days on one of the islands, renewing their stores of fresh water and provisions. On the 4th of July, after sailing due north for a few days, they sighted the coast of what is now the State of North Carolina. They traversed its length for about a hundred and twenty miles, and then, entering Pamlico Sound, they landed upon one of the islands, and took possession in Queen Elizabeth's name. With this and the adjoining islands they were so charmed that they spent more than a month in exploring them and the neighbouring mainland. Their rich fruitage and the brilliance and sweetness of their flowers delighted them while they were on shipboard, and their later investigation convinced them that this was the best place for Raleigh to plant his colony in. They found it filled with oaks, cedars, cypresses, and mastics, with cinnamon trees and many others "of excellent smell and quality," and well stored with "melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and corn very white, fair, and well tasted, also wheat and oats, and beans very fair, of divers colours and wonderful plenty." Everywhere the soil seemed to them to be marvellously fertile, and of the natives they formed a very favourable opinion.

Concerning these natives and their ways, Captain

Barlow furnished in his report to Raleigh much interesting information.* Here we have the first impressions of English voyagers to the homes of the red men whom English colonists were before long to drive from their fairest haunts in order that English America might be founded. Barlow tells how, very soon after their first landing, one of the natives, "never making any show of fear or doubt," came up to welcome them. "And after he had spoken many things not understood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine and our meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cave or creek adjoining. As soon as he was two bowshots into the water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided the fish into two parts, appointing one part to the ship and the other to the pinnace. Then after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefits received, he departed out of our sight."

* Barlow's narrative, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 246—251, is my only guide to the story of this expedition. Most of the information given later in this chapter is also derived from HAKLUYT, vol. iii., which includes Barlow's account of the second voyage (pp. 251—253); Lane's and Hariot's memoir of the first settlement, 1585—6 (pp. 254—264; 266—280); an account of the third voyage (p. 265); an account of the fourth voyage (pp. 280—287); and an account of the fifth voyage (pp. 287—295). The authorities for information not drawn from these sources will be cited in their places.

There was like kindly intercourse between the English and the Indians all through the time of this visit. On the following day a brother of the chief of the tribe resident in the district, with about forty followers, "very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe," came in boats to the shore off which the English barks were anchored. "When he came to the place," we are told, "his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like. The rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor ever mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast, and afterwards on ours, to show we were all one, smiling and making show, the best he could, of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end spake one in the other's ear very softly. After we had presented him with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the others that sat with him on the mat; but presently he rose and took all from them and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens that

all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers."

Out of that present-giving barter soon grew. The red men brought great numbers of choice skins, which they gladly exchanged for English commodities. A copper kettle was valued at fifty deer skins worth a crown apiece, and the chief's brother gave twenty skins for a bright tin dish, "which he presently took up and clapped before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows." The Indians bought all the hatchets and axes and knives that could be spared by the English, and offered any number of skins for the swords that could not be spared.

After further friendly intercourse on shore the chief's brother visited the ships and showed great delight at the way in which he was entertained. "And after a few days overpast he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children. His wife was very well-favoured, of mean stature, and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same. About her forehead she had a band of white coral. In her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear. And some of the children had five or six in either ear. The King's brother had upon his head a

broad plate of gold or copper. His apparel was as his wife's; only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one."

After the natives had paid several visits to the ships, Captain Barlow and seven other Englishmen took boat and went for about twenty miles along the shore to Roanoke Island. "At the north end thereof," says our intelligent voyager, "was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike, very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the waterside, the wife of the King's brother came running out to meet us, very cheerfully and friendly, her husband being not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore; others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground; and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them. Some washed our feet in warm water; and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat. After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat like furmenty, sodden venison and roast, fish sodden, boiled

and roasted, melons raw and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth. Their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet. Their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gate two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting; whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons. But as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She, perceiving

our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women to sit all night on the bank side by us, and sent us into our boat fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses. But because we were few men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not venture anything, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.”

Next day the honest voyagers made some investigation of the other islands and the main land round about, and then they returned to their ships. Friendly dealings continued with the natives until they started on the return voyage to England.

From such conversation as they were able to carry on with the people, they gathered that the king or chief lived in a great city six days' journey inland, and had under him several governors like the brother from whom they received such generous treatment. There were two other kings in the neighbourhood, all three being in friendship with one another, their peoples being of kindred race. Two other kings ruled farther south, who were at constant feud with the Englishmen's entertainers. The only dark feature in the bright picture of Indian life portrayed by our travellers is in their mention of the bloody wars carried on between these two races, and in the civil dissensions that were reported to arise from time to time. The simple natives were well practised in the art of war. “Their arrows,” we are

told, "are of small cane, headed with a sharp shell or tooth of a fish, sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood hardened. They have beside a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag or other beast. When they go to war they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march to battle, instead of drums and trumpets. Their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate."

Early in August, well satisfied with what they had seen, Captain Amadas and Captain Barlow set sail for England, bringing with them two Indians who came of their own accord. They reached Plymouth about the middle of September.

Their report, though garnished by no perversions of the old fables about Cathay and El Dorado, gave great and reasonable satisfaction to Sir Walter Raleigh and all the thousands of Englishmen to whom they were made known. And well they might. After a four months' expedition, in which there had been nothing but pleasant episode and good fortune, without loss of life or any sort of danger, a score or two of hardy seamen had discovered a region in which there was more chance of reasonably advancing the welfare of England and the wealth of its people than could be hoped for from a century of battling, as glorious as it was profitless, with the ice and ice-bound rocks by which Frobisher and his

crews had been conquered. There was henceforth no lack of interest in the projects which Frobisher had been the first, in Queen Elizabeth's days, to enforce by practical experiment. But from this time prudent and matter-of-fact men, and many who were very far from prudent and matter-of-fact, determined to risk their money and their lives, if they risked them in any far-off voyaging at all, in continuance of the work which had been so successfully inaugurated by Walter Raleigh. The outcome of their enterprise appears in the United States of America.

To this new district Queen Elizabeth, as well pleased with the account of it as were any of her subjects, gave the name of Virginia; and Walter Raleigh lost no time in planning a second and larger expedition to his fortunate possession. In December a bill for confirming the charter he had already received from the Queen, and for defining the limits of his colony, passed through the House of Commons, after having been discussed by a committee of which Sir Francis Drake and Sir Philip Sidney were members.*

Sidney, famous and fame-worthy beyond all others among Elizabethan courtiers, has a place in the history of English colonization. Early in 1583, probably before Sir Humphrey Gilbert had set out on his disastrous voyage, and certainly before its issue was known, nearly a year, too, before the date of Raleigh's charter, he had been authorised by letters patent "to discover, search, find out, view, and inhabit certain parts of America not

* D'EWEES, pp. 339—341.

yet discovered, to have and enjoy so much quantity of ground as should amount to the number of thirty hundred thousand acres of ground and wood, with all commodities, jurisdictions, and royalties, both by sea and land." Having desired eight years before to go with Frobisher on his north-western voyaging, he seems now to have wished, in conjunction with his friend Gilbert, to have entered personally on the more profitable work of American colonization. That he took great interest in the work is abundantly proved, and especially by the dedication to him which another of his friends, Richard Hakluyt, prefixed to his first collection of 'Voyages,' published in 1582. But he could not be spared from Court, and there were other good reasons for his postponing and, in the end, abandoning his project. Therefore in July, 1583, while Gilbert was at sea, "for the more speedy execution of Her Majesty's grant and the enlargement of Her Majesty's dominions and government, and for the better encouragement of others in so worthy and commendable an enterprise," he made over, as a free gift, to Sir George Peckham, the title to a tenth part of his three million acres of American soil.*

Peckham does not seem to have made any practical use of his privileges, and henceforth Sidney only showed his interest in the work in encouraging other people to devote themselves to it, of which his share in the parliamentary approval of Raleigh's project was an instance. His rights being thus confirmed to him, Raleigh was

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clxi., No. 44, cited in my *Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 367, 372.

busy, during the first three months of 1585, in organising a fleet of seven ships to go to Virginia in the summer. He thought of leading it himself, but from this he was deterred, we are told, by the fear that during his absence the Earl of Leicester, already jealous of his influence at Court, would damage his place in the Queen's regards. Therefore he entrusted the work to his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, who was appointed Admiral of the Fleet, and to Ralph Lane, who was to be Governor of the intended colony.

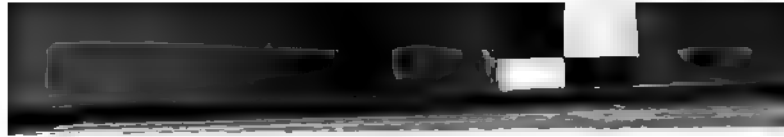
Both were notable men. Grenville, now about forty-five years old, belonged to an old family in the west of England. He had gone, in 1566, to fight for the Hungarians against the Turks, and had shared in the famous battle of Lepanto, won by Don John of Austria, and so much to the satisfaction of the Pope that he could only exclaim, in the words of Scripture, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John!" After that Grenville had done some rough service in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney, where Gilbert had been one of his associates; and from that time he had taken a lively interest in all the schemes for Cathayan search and American plantation that had been advanced by Gilbert. He was a bold and enterprising man, too impetuous to be very persevering, and of a disposition tainted by the cruelties which Spanish example and the angry warfare carried on with Spain encouraged in nearly all the leading Englishmen of the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Ralph Lane was of the same character. Of North-

amptonshire origin, he was second cousin to Queen Katherine Parr, though born only a little while before her death. He was about ten years older than Grenville, and, like Grenville, he had served both in continental wars and in Irish soldiership. At Court he was favoured by the rival Earls of Burghley and Leicester, and he was one of "Leicester's Band" of equerries to the Queen. For this he considered he was not recompensed according to his deserts. In a letter written to Burghley in July, 1583, he begged for some suitable reward, "having," he said, "served Her Majesty these twenty years, spent my patrimony, bruised my limbs, and yet nevertheless at this day not worth one groat by Her Majesty's gift towards a living." That dolorous petition brought him an appointment as Commander of Southsea Castle, with pay at two shillings a day, and to this was added, in 1584, somewhat more remunerative employment in Ireland as Governor of Kerry. On the 8th of February, 1585, Queen Elizabeth allowed him to put a deputy in that office, "in consideration of his ready undertaking the voyage to Virginia."*

The seven vessels sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April. The largest of them were the *Tiger* and the *Roebuck*, each of 140 tons' burthen, the *Lion*, of 100 tons, and the *Elizabeth*, of 50 tons. Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow went as chief pilots to the district which they had discovered, and Thomas Cavendish, the great

* An ample memoir of Lane by the Rev. E. E. HALE is in the *Archæologia Americana* for 1860, pp. 315—344. To this I am indebted for the particulars given above, as well as to Mr. HALE's reprint of some letters written by Lane from Virginia, in the same volume, pp. 3—33.



buccaneer, was one of the party. Following the old track, they sailed by way of the Canaries to Saint John's, one of the West Indian islands. There they waited for a fortnight, ostensibly to build a pinnace, but evidently with the hope of doing some injury to the Spaniards, work which was much more agreeable to Grenville than American colonization. Setting sail again on the 26th of May, they captured, on that and the following day, two Spanish frigates, which were taken back to Saint John's and there ransomed for "good round sums." They also seized a ship-load of salt, and did other damage to the Spaniards before proceeding to Virginia, which they did not reach till the 26th of June.

Three days afterwards the *Tiger* struck ground and was seriously damaged, and then began a series of misfortunes well earned by the unworthy method in which Grenville and Lane set themselves to perform their appointed task. As a task they seem from the first to have regarded all the duties proper to the establishment of a colony. For fierce war and lawless conquest they were well adapted; but they showed no skill, and hardly attempted to show it, in the way of peacefully organising an English settlement in the New World.

This, indeed, was never thought of by Sir Richard Grenville. He spent seven weeks in exploring the islands of the adjoining mainland of North Carolina, in receiving kindness from the natives, and in ill-using them. In the pithy report of one day's proceedings we read that "one of our boats was sent to demand a silver cup which one of the savages had stolen from us, and,

not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt and spoiled their corn and town, all the people being fled."

Nor was Grenville satisfied with troubling the simple natives and laying a sure train for their ultimate extermination. He quarrelled with Lane and with most of the other leading members of his company, Thomas Cavendish among the number. "It is not possible," said Lane himself in a letter of complaint to Walsingham, written on the 8th of September, "for men to behave themselves more faithfully and more industriously in an action—the same by the General's only great default having been made most painful and most perilous—than every of these gentlemen have done, and that ever since the first to the last. Contrariwise, Sir Richard Grenville, our General, hath demeaned himself, from the first day of his entry into government until the day of his departure from hence, far otherwise than my hope of him, though very agreeable to the expectations and predictions of sundry wise and godly persons of his own country that knew him better than myself. And particularly I thought good to advise your honour how tyrannous an execution, without any occasion of my part offered, he not only purposed, but even propounded the same, to have brought me, by indirect means and most untrue surmises, to the question of my life; and that only for an advice in a public consultation by me given, which, if it had been executed, had been for the great good of us all, but most chiefly of himself. I have had so much experience of his

government, as I am humbly to desire your honour and the rest of my honourablest friends to give me their favours to be freed from that place where Sir Richard Grenville is to carry any authority in chief. The Lord hath miraculously blest this action that, in the time of his being amongst us, even through his intolerable pride and insatiable ambition, it hath not at three several times taken a final overthrow.”*

Grenville did not wait to see that final overthrow. In obedience to his instructions he returned to England as soon as he had seen that the intending colonists—a hundred and seven in number—were lodged in their new home. Having despatched one of his vessels on the 5th of August, he himself, with the others, left America on the 25th of the same month. On his way back he fought with a rich Spanish vessel, of 300 tons’ burthen, and, having seized its goods, reached Plymouth on the 18th of October.

Lane was not able to manage the colony, even with his rival away. He does not seem to have been chargeable, at the beginning of his career, with much cruelty, but he was in no way fitted to be the first governor of a settlement in which everything had to be learnt by slow experience and close observation. His chief fault was in seeing no difficulty in his work. “Our present arrival in these parts,” he said in another letter to Walsingham, dated the 12th of August, “hath discovered unto us so many, so rare and so singular commodities of this Her Majesty’s new kingdom of Virginia as all

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Colonial*, vol. i., No. 6.

the kingdoms and states of Christendom, their commodities joined in one together, do not yield either more good or more plentiful whatsoever for public use is needful or pleasing for delight. The things that we have had time as yet to see and to send are but such as are first come to hand with very small search, and which do present themselves upon the upper face of the earth; the barrenest and most sunken plots whereof do, nevertheless, everywhere yield somewhat that either for known virtue is of price in Christendom, or somewhat at least to the smell pleasing, not having as yet found, in all our search, one stinking weed growing in this land, a matter, in all our opinions here, very strange. The climate is so wholesome, yet somewhat tending to heat, as that we have not had one sick since we entered into the country; but sundry that came sick are recovered of long diseases, especially of rheums. Not doubting, in the mercy of God, to be sufficiently provided for by Him, and most assured by faith in Christ that, rather than suffer the overthrow of us His poor servants, through famine or other wants—being in a vast country yet unmannered, though most apt for it—He will command even the ravens to feed us, as He did by His servant the prophet Habakkuk, and that only for His mercy's sake.”*

Lane put his trust in God and the ravens. The fertile and pleasant island of Roanoke, which was called Plymouth, having been fixed upon as the residence of his hundred colonists, he seems to have made no attempt

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Colonial*, vol. i., No. 3.

to turn it into a suitable and permanent place of settlement for Englishmen. A fort was set up and intrenchments were laid round what was intended to be the town of Port Ferdinando;* but no substantial houses were built, and no preparations were made for cultivating the fruitful soil and gathering a store of food for future use. The colonists believed that the Indians would supply the place of ravens in furnishing them with bread and flesh, and spent all that remained of summer time in making acquaintance with the haunts and habits of these Indians, and filling them with an unwholesome dread of Englishmen.

Lane made tolerably extensive excursions, to the south-west, north-west, and north of his intended place

* The precise site was identified and described by Mr. Edward C. Bruce in 1859. "The island," he says, "contains nothing else of the sort, and the records of the voyagers fix the situation of the fort and village to within a mile or less. Within that circuit they must have stood, and within it lie the remains before us. The location was judiciously selected. Half a mile from the eastern, or north-eastern shore, and a little further from the northern point of the island, it was just far enough inland to be sheltered from the heavy winds by the bluffs and woods, without sacrificing facility of watch over the adjacent waters. To the north-west the position commands the broad sweep of Albemarle; to the north, Currituck; on the east, Roanoke; and on the west, Croaton Sounds,—all leading directly to this point. Opposite the narrow neck which has replaced the inlet through which Lane entered, and perhaps a mile from the fort, a fine look-out is afforded by a range of sandhills. The trench is clearly traceable in a square of about forty yards each way. Midway of one side another trench, perhaps flanking the gateway, runs in some fifteen or twenty feet; and, on the right of the same face of the enclosure, the corner is apparently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep, though in many places scarcely perceptible. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told of the existing relics of the city of Raleigh."—Cited by Mr. HALE in the *Archæologia Americana*, pp. 24, 25.

of residence. With his boats, the stoutest of which was a four-oared barge, just large enough to hold fifteen men, he tracked the coast northwards as far as Chesapeake Bay, which he judged to be a better place than Roanoke for English settlement. "For pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, besides multitude of bears—being an excellent good victual—with great woods of sassafras and walnut trees," he said, "it is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever."

North of Albemarle Sound, and in the direction of Chesapeake Bay, was a district call Chawanook. Its chief town contained seven hundred fighting men, and there were other towns of some size and beauty. "The king of the province," said Lane, "is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise, for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country and his own men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well near as far, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all searches and savages that before I or any of my people had had conference with. Amongst other things he told me that, going three days' journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook and then descending to the land, you are within four days' journey to pass overland north-east to a certain king's country, whose province lieth upon the

sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situated as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep. Out of this bay he signified unto me that this king had so great quantity of pearl, and doth so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers, are full set with the said pearl, but also his beds and houses are garnished with them. He showed me that the said king two years before brought him certain pearl, but of the worst sort. He gave me a rope of the same pearl. They were black, yet many of them very great and a few amongst a number very orient and round. He told me that the said king had great store of pearl that were white, great, and round, and that his black pearl his men did take out of shallow water, but the white pearl his men fished for in very deep water. It seemed to me by his speech that the said king had traffic with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white pearl, and that was the reason that he would not part with other than black pearls to those of the same country." This, of course, was the southern part of Chesapeake Bay.

Soon after that, Lane heard still better news. He was told that at the head of a broad river—as broad for thirty miles above its outlet as the Thames at Greenwich—which was called the Moratoc, now the Roanoke, was a famous settlement of Indians whose chief source of wealth was a goodly store of metal, either copper or gold. This he determined to seek out. He rowed for three days up the river, and found that the people fled at his approach,

taking with them all the corn that he had hoped to buy or steal. Only two days' full allowance of food was left, and then he put it to his comrades "whether they should adventure the spending of their whole victual, in some further view of that most goodly river, in hope to meet with some better pass, or otherwise to retire back again." "Their resolution fully and wholly," he records, "was that while there was but one half-pint of corn for a man, we should not leave the search, and that there were in the company two mastiffs, upon the pottage of which with sassafras leaves, if the worst fell out, the company would make shift to live two days, which time would bring them down the current to the mouth of the river. This resolution of theirs did not a little please me, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion." So the journey was continued. "After two days' travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man; only fires we might perceive, made along the shore where we were to pass and up into the country, until the last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo," a native servant who was taken as a guide. "Whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference and making him answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought in token of our welcome to them. But Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us. Which word was not so soon spoken by him, but there

alighted a volley of arrows amongst them in one of the boats, but did no hurt, God be thanked, to any man. Immediately our other boat began to scour the place for our hands to land upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steep. The savages forthwith quitted the shore and betook themselves to flight. We landed fairly and easily and for a small space followed after them, but they had wooded themselves we knew not where. The sun drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day, if we would pursue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we should meet with some of their victual, which we then had good cause to think of, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun, to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river. Unto which I found my whole company ready to assent; for they were now come to their dogs' porridge. The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth, within four or five miles, having rowed in one day down the current as much as in four days we had done against the same. We lodged upon an island, where we had nothing to eat but a pottage of sassafras leaves." Thus the search for copper was abandoned.

The exaggerated reports that came to him concerning the riches of Virginia, however, made Lane very anxious to transplant his colony to Chesapeake Bay. With that object he went back to Port Ferdinando.

There he found that the rough treatment of his people had turned the Indians, whom they at first found so

simple and friendly, into subtle enemies. For this the Indians were not to blame. They had received the white men with show and with hearty desire of friendship. They had freely supplied them with whatever food and furniture they needed, and had evinced great readiness to be instructed in the wonderful ways of their visitors. They were even willing to accept those visitors as masters if they might receive the protection and assistance due to servants. But when they found that they were to be treated as slaves, and as slaves who, not having been bought for money, were not even to be cared for as property, they turned rebellious. They refused to be forced into rendering those services which they had been willing to give in return for generous treatment. For that they were looked upon as rebels and traitors, and accordingly chastised.

The chastisement had begun, as we saw, some time before Sir Richard Grenville's departure. In August Lane had, in a letter to Sir Philip Sidney, complained of his trouble in having "amongst savages, the charge of wild men of his own nation, whose unruliness was such as not to give leisure to the guards to be almost at any time from them."* Very soon, though not, it must be noted in justice to Ralph Lane, until he had started on his ill-timed expedition of discovery, the guards were allowed to join with the wild men in cruel handling of the natives. Thus it happened that, while Lane was away, the news spread from tribe to tribe, and preceded him to most of the districts which he visited, that these white

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Colonial*, vol. i., No. 5.

men, not born of women and godlike in their strength and power, were devils, who had come to waste the land and slay all its people, unless, by subtle dealing on their part and by special favour of the Great Spirit, they were able to drive them out and kill them.

The English had had one firm friend in the chief's brother who had first made acquaintance with Barlow and the voyagers of 1584. As long as he lived he had done his utmost to propitiate the colonists and to persuade his friends that, if they themselves would deal meekly and generously with their visitors they might hope for better treatment than in any other way they could possibly receive. But he died while Lane was away from Port Ferdinando, and his son Pemisapan became leader of the steadily growing opposition to the English. His crime, certainly not a great one, was in a proposal that all the Indians in Roanoke should flee from their persecutors and seek peace in a new home in the west. This would have been fatal to the Virginian colony; "for," said Lane, not perceiving how much, in making the statement, he blamed himself and his companions, "at that time we had no weirs for fish, neither had our men skill in the making of them, neither had we one grain of corn for seed to put into the ground." Lane's return prevented this proposal from taking effect, especially as it strengthened a belief that had long been growing among the natives concerning the supernatural character of the English. They had thought that he was dead, and his coming back seemed to them to be a resurrection from the grave. They also had fresh reports

of the wonderful effects of his fire-arms, which became a thousand times more wonderful in their distorted imaginations. "It was an opinion very confidently holden among them," said Lane, "that we were the servants of God, and that we were not subject to be destroyed by them; but contrariwise that they amongst them that sought our destruction should find their own, and that we being dead men were able to do them more hurt than now we could do being alive; as also that they, being a hundred miles from any of us, have been shot at in the air, and stricken by some men of ours that by sickness had died among them; and many of them hold opinion that we be dead men returned into the world again, and that we do not remain dead but for a certain time, and then we return again." Therefore the Indians, sorely against their wills and very much to their hurt, because they feared that by rebellion they would bring yet greater hurt upon themselves, continued to serve the English.

It was discontented, superstitious service, like that which Caliban yielded to Prospero in the noble drama which received many of its most poetical suggestions from the story, as it was repeated to Shakespeare, of the sufferings and conduct of the Indians in Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia.* Many a poor red man,

* This is no place for Shakespearcan commentary. Therefore I shall not attempt in detail to support the opinion indicated above. It is enough to say that whatever other suggestions may have come to Shakespeare from other sources, some at any rate must have come from New World history and scenery. Caliban is evidently a variation upon Canibal, itself a perversion of Caribbean. "The still vexed Bermoothes" must have been the Bermudas. Raleigh's repetition of the report concerning "a nation of people that have their eyes in their shoulders and

remembering the friendly dealings that he had with Barlow and his comrades in 1584, must have said, in rude words and phrases of his own,

“ When thou cam’st here first,
Thou strok’dst me, and mad’st much of me, wouldst teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night : and then I lov’d thee,
And show’d thee all the qualities o’ th’ isle,
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile ;—
Cursed be I that did so !”

or, in moments of resolution to shake off the tyranny to which he was now subjected,

“ No more dams I’ll make for fish ;
Or fetch firing
At requiring,
Nor scrape trencher, nor wash dish.”

But a thraldom as heavy as Prospero’s over Caliban oppressed him—the thraldom of his own superstitious belief in the superhuman powers of his master ; and so he slaved on unwillingly, hoping, amid despair, that some yet greater power would rid him of his trouble.

The Indians shared none of Caliban’s brutalities, however, and, unlike Caliban, they were able to bring upon their tyrants, no peers of Prospero’s, sufferings almost equal to their own. After long submission,

their mouths in the middle of their breasts ” must have suggested Gonzalo’s exclamation—

“ When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at ’em
Wallets of flesh ? Or that there were such men
Whose heads stood on their breasts ? which now we find
Each putter-out of one for five will bring us
Good warrant of.”

they organized a plot with their friends on the mainland for a general attack upon the intruders. Ralph Lane, hearing of this, and having still some friends, or allies who had not been turned into open enemies, among the natives about Chesapeake Bay, prepared for a counter attack. Hitherto he had found it necessary to postpone his intention of exterminating the people whose supplies of food and other services had kept alive the colonists. For this he took great credit to himself. "Pemisapan," he said, "was afraid to deny me anything; neither durst he in my presence but by colour and with excuses which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the end, as I had reason, to give him the jump, once for all; but, in the mean whiles, I and mine bare all wrongs and accepted of all excuses."

At length, at the close of May, 1586, when his colony was about ten months old, the Indians showed him that the time for patient endurance of wrongs was over. In the night they stole into Port Ferdinando, and broke up the fish-weirs and the wooden huts that they had constructed for their masters; and they crossed over to the mainland, or to island fastnesses in which they could not easily be reached. Lane had to divide his hundred men into parties of fifteen or twenty apiece, and send them to different parts of the island, to keep themselves from starving by catching such fish and oysters as they could, while he made preparations for a massacre. This was not possible, since Pemisapan had already made preparations for an

overwhelming assault of natives upon the white men. "They," said Lane, "privy to their own villanous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them." Therefore on the 1st of June something like a battle ensued. As many Englishmen as their boats could hold were conveyed across the strait, and then they marched against Pemisapan. The ugly story can only be told in Lane's own words. "I gave the watchword agreed upon, which was 'Christ our victory!' and immediately his chief men and himself had, by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himself being shot through with a pistol, lying on the ground for dead, suddenly started up and ran away, as though he had not been touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by my Irish boy. In the end an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, following him into the woods, overtook him; and I, in some doubt lest we had lost both the king and my man, met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand."

The Indians were more than a match for their tyrants in running, at any rate, and they escaped without very much slaughter. Their pleasant home in Roanoke had been despoiled; but they had succeeded also in ruining the English colony that had brought them so much misery.

Nothing but a fortunate accident saved the colonists themselves from being utterly ruined. Lane could find

no red men either to kill or to rob of the food of which his people were in sore need. He waited in despair from the 1st to the 8th of June. On that day he heard that a great fleet of three-and-twenty ships was in sight, and this proved to be the fleet of Sir Francis Drake on his way home from his famous West Indian expedition of 1585. In this Ralph Lane, always most pious when his work was most impious, saw "the very hand of God stretched out to take them." Another of the party thought, more reasonably, that "the hand of God had come upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the inhabitants of that country." Theologians must decide in which way the hand of God had worked.

Drake's arrival, however, was propitious. Hearing of the sad condition to which his brother Englishmen had been reduced, he offered them a ship, a pinnace, and some boats, either to be left at Roanoke, with a month's supply of provisions, and there used by Lane in furtherance of his colonizing or conquering work, or to be taken home, with the colonists on board, under protection of the fleet. Lane was inclined to choose the former alternative, but before the provisions could be landed there arose so violent a storm that Drake had to save his ships by again hurrying out to sea, leaving only the detachment that had been offered to his distressed fellow-countrymen. In these Lane embarked on the 19th of June, and overtaking his deliverers, sailed with them into Portsmouth Harbour.

The troubles that had befallen the colonists screened

them from the blame that they deserved. With the stories of their woes, moreover, they brought over an article for which all England soon was grateful to them. Thomas Hariot, one of the number, in a long account of the various productions of Virginia, describes one in particular. "There is an herb," he says, "which is sowed apart by itself, and is called by the inhabitants uppowoc. In the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the several places and countries where it groweth and is used. The Spaniards generally call it tabacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder, they are to take the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it through pipes made of clay into their stomach and head, from whence it purgeth superfluous phlegm and other gross humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body. This uppowoc is of so precious estimation among them that they think their gods are marvellously delighted therewith; whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires and cast some of the powder therein for sacrifice. We ourselves, during the time we were there, used to suck it after their manner; as also since our return; and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof, of which the relation would require a volume by itself. The use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling, as else, and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness." Only a few years after that Edmund Spenser, in his 'Faerie Queene,' spoke in praise of the "divine tobacco."

Ralph Lane laid the blame of his failure upon Sir

Richard Grenville, who had promised that he would return to Roanoke early in the spring with fresh colonists and ample stores of provisions. He excused himself for not having turned Port Ferdinando into a permanent and well-built town on the score that his visit to Chesapeake Bay had convinced him that that was a very much better site than Roanoke for the headquarters of the colony. He believed that the river which he had partly navigated would lead him to the copper district of which he had heard, and perhaps afford an easy route to the Pacific Ocean. "The discovery of a good mine, by the goodness of God, or a passage to the South Sea," he said, "and nothing else, can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our nation." "I resolved with myself," he added, in his report to Raleigh, "that if your supply had come before the end of April, and that you had sent any store of boats, or men to have had them made in any reasonable time, I would have sent a small bark with two pinnaces about the sea to the northward. I would there have raised a main fort, both for the defence of the harbour and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation, from Roanoke and from the harbour and port there, which by proof is very naught, unto this other." Not receiving his reinforcements, he considered himself quite justified in abandoning the whole enterprise, which indeed, considering the state to which mismanagement and ill-treatment of the natives had brought the colonists, was the only thing possible.

Only a fortnight after his departure, Grenville arrived with the promised supplies in three ships; the sending of which from England appears to have been delayed by Raleigh's difficulty in raising money enough for the undertaking. Finding Roanoke deserted, and "all things left confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army," Grenville spent a little time in scouring the neighbourhood and making inquiries from the natives as to the fate of the colonists. Then, leaving fifteen men on the island, with provisions for two years, "to retain possession of the country," he made his way back to England, turning the voyage to profit, and affording some rough sport to himself and his followers by attacking the Spanish possessions in the Azores, and seizing a large quantity of booty.

This was sufficient consolation for the disasters that had befallen the settlement in Virginia. Raleigh shared with all other brave Englishmen in the growing jealousy and hatred with which Spain was regarded during the years previous to the Great Armada Fight. He had been rising steadily in royal favour while his colony was being built up and broken down. As member for Devonshire he had taken important part in the work of the Parliament of 1584 and 1585. He had been knighted by the Queen, and received more substantial proof of her liking in a grant of wine licences, and another grant of twelve thousand acres in Ireland. His Virginian expedition had cost him and the friends who joined in the adventure much money,—

according to one estimate about 40,000*l*. His Spanish prizes, however, had more than compensated for that outlay. Therefore he had no difficulty in fitting out a fourth expedition, furnished with the materials for another colonization, in 1587.

In this instance the conduct of the enterprise was entrusted to a Captain John White, of whose previous history we are ignorant, but who proved himself, in spite of his misfortunes, a much better deputy than either Grenville or Lane. With three vessels, the largest of which was the *Admiral*, of 120 tons burthen, and with a hundred and fifty colonists on board, including seventeen women and nine children, he left Plymouth on the 8th of May. He proceeded to Virginia in the usual curve by way of the West Indies. He, however, was not in search of Spanish prizes, and the only capture during the voyage was of "five great tortoises, some of them of such bigness that sixteen of the strongest men were tired with carrying but one of them from the sea-side to the cabins," near Vera Cruz.

The mainland of America was not reached till the 16th of July, when White anchored in the neighbourhood of Roanoke. There he halted, intending to pick up the fifteen Englishmen who had been left behind by Grenville in the previous year. He found nothing but the bones of one man. He saw the ruins of Port Ferdinando, "overgrown with melons of divers sorts, and deer within feeding on those melons." One of his company was killed by some of the natives, who had learnt to hate every Englishman. "The savages,

being secretly hidden among high trees, where oftentimes they find the deer asleep, and so kill them," we are told, "espied our man, wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a small forked stick, catching crabs therewithal, and also being strayed two miles from his company. They shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrows, and, after they had slain him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the main." Within three short years the pleasant region in which Captain Barlow had been generously entertained by "a people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age," had become a wilderness, haunted only by a few Indians turned into savages by English cruelty, and so filled with detestation of all Englishmen that when they saw one undefended they must kill him with arrows, and then hack his corpse with their swords and break his head in pieces.

Still in search of the fifteen missing men, or, at any rate, of some clue as to their fate, Captain White, on the 30th of July, staying himself with the ships which were at anchor off the southern edge of Roanoke, sent some of his people to Croatan, a neighbouring island, the home of Manteo, the Indian who had been found useful to the English as an interpreter, and therefore had been kindly treated by them and taken to England, in Lane's company, in 1586. "At our first landing," says one of the party, "the people seemed as though

they would fight with us, but, perceiving us begin to march with our shot towards them, they turned their backs and fled. Then Manteo, their countryman, called to them in their own language, whom as soon they heard they returned and threw away their bows and arrows, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us very friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corn, for that they had but little. We answered them that neither their corn nor any other thing of theirs should be diminished by any of us, and that our coming was only to renew the old love that was between us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends; which answer seemed to please them well. Wherefore they requested us to walk up to their town, where they feasted us after their manner, and desired us that there might be some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends when we met them anywhere out of the town or island."

From these simple people of Croatan was heard the story of the fifteen missing colonists. They had been set upon by a party of the natives whom Lane and his followers had persecuted. These Indians, hiding themselves in the wood, sent two of their number, with arms concealed, to make show of friendly intercourse with the Englishmen, and thus coaxed two of them, really unarmed, to go into the wood out of reach of their friends. One Englishman was then killed, and, though the other was able to escape and give warning of the danger, he only succeeded in bringing his comrades out

of the hut which they had built and in which all their provisions were stored, before they were attacked by their assailants. They fought stoutly, and, with the exception of one who received a fatal shot in the mouth, defended themselves from any but slight wounds, while they succeeded in killing some of the Indians. But during the scuffle the hut and its contents were burnt. The thirteen survivors were forced to take their only boat, and in it put to sea. They were never heard of afterwards.

This account of their misfortunes being repeated to Captain White, had an unfortunate result. White had intended, instead of staying at Roanoke, to go in search of a suitable place on the borders of Chesapeake Bay, and there, with firm resolve to live on friendly terms with the Indians who, having no grudge against the English, might be expected to reciprocate the friendship, to try and make a prosperous settlement. Now, however, he considered it his duty to be revenged upon the natives of Roanoke and their kinsmen on the mainland for the more excusable vengeance which they had wreaked upon his fifteen unhappy countrymen. He was also much incensed at the brutal murder of his own follower ten days before. But the time appointed by Raleigh for the return to England of the ships that had brought him out was nearly at an end; and Simon Ferdinando, their chief pilot, who seems to have been on bad terms with White, refused to prolong it. Therefore it was resolved that the ships should set down their passengers and cargoes, that a temporary settlement

should be made on the site of the old colony, and that afterwards the English should make their way leisurely and by land to Chesapeake Bay.

While the ships were unloading, Captain White began the ungracious work of retaliation which he had marked out for himself. Attended by twenty-five of his men and Manteo, the interpreter, he crossed over to the mainland in the early morning of the 9th of August. "We landed, while it was yet dark, near the dwelling-places of our enemies," says one of the party, "and very secretly conveyed ourselves through the woods to that side where we had their houses between us and the water, and having espied their fire and some sitting about it, we presently set on them. The miserable souls, herewith amazed, fled into a place of thick reeds, growing fast by, where our men, perceiving them, shot one of them through the body with a bullet, and therewith he entered the reeds, among which we hoped to acquit their evil-doing towards us." Fortunately no great harm was done. One of the poor creatures had the boldness to come out, and, at the risk of being killed, explain that they were all people of Croatan and friendly towards the English. It seems that the tribe which White meant to punish, foreseeing his intention, had fled inland, and that the Croatan Indians had only come over to collect the ripe corn and tobacco which had been left in the fields. White made amends for the blunder and, with help of his native friends, gathered in the harvest. Then he took both it and them back to Roanoke, postponing his vengeance until a later day.

That day never came. No sooner were the colonists landed than they began to quarrel with one another and show signs of mutiny. It was necessary that two able messengers should accompany the ships to England, to acquaint Sir Walter Raleigh as to the proceedings of the party, and to arrange with him for the proper sending of such fresh supplies as were required; and Captain White was forced to be one of these. Sorely against his will,—for he honestly desired to bring the plantation of Virginia to a successful issue, and he was bound to it by strong personal ties as well as by feelings of honour and duty, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, being one of the colonists, and her infant child, christened Virginia because she was the first native of the colony and of English America, having been born on the 18th of the month,—he yielded to their imperative request, and left Roanoke on the 27th of August.

His homeward voyage was altogether disastrous. On the day of starting, the little vessel in which he went was nearly disabled and many of its crew were lost. Ferdinando, in charge of the *Admiral*, being instructed to do what he could towards reimbursing Sir Walter Raleigh for the expenses of the expedition, by trade or piracy among the Spaniards of the West Indies, refused to take his general by a direct route to England. Therefore White resolved to make the best of his way home by himself in the little broken-down vessel. Gentle winds helped him onwards during twenty days, by which time nearly all his fresh water was exhausted and the provisions were brought very low. Then, as

he says in his doleful narrative, "there arose a storm which for six days ceased not to blow so exceedingly that we were driven further in those six days than we could recover in thirteen days. In which time others of our sailors began to fall very sick and two of them died. The weather also continued so close that our master, sometimes in four days together, could see neither sun nor star, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beer, and lees of wine which remained, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine and to perish at sea." By good fortune, however, they kept afloat and alive for a few days longer, and at the end of that time they drifted up to the south-western corner of Ireland. There they were picked up by a Southampton pinnace and taken by it into port. After being more than ten weeks at sea, White reached Southampton on the 8th of November, and learnt that the *Admiral*, "in such weakness by sickness and death of their chiefest men, that they might all have perished if a small bark by great hap had not come to them to help them," had arrived at Portsmouth, without a shilling's worth of booty, some three weeks before.

England was too full of excitement about the public and private war then being waged with Spain, and of preparations for the expected coming of the Great Armada, for the poor Virginian colonists to be much thought of, or for Captain White's entreaties on their behalf to receive serious attention. Sir Walter Raleigh, indeed, seems to have grown weary of his North

American possessions. Already his adventurous spirit had been attracted by the fables of El Dorado, and he was resolved, as soon as more pressing occupations allowed him time and opportunity, to apply himself to the work of discovery and conquest in South America. Accordingly, after doing no more than listen to John White's petitions during a year and a half, he formally abandoned the colony out of which, five years before, he had hoped to construct an empire which was to prove as helpful to his own fortunes as it could be to the welfare of England. On the 7th of March, 1589, he transferred his Virginian patent to a company of merchants and others, himself tendering a subscription of 100*l.*, "in especial regard and zeal of planting the Christian religion in those barbarous countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the same, and the common utility and profit of the inhabitants."* White eagerly became a member of this company; and he seems to have been its only active member.

After a year of further effort on behalf of the unfortunate colonists who had been waiting for assistance from home since the summer of 1587, he managed, with Raleigh's assistance, to persuade the owners of three ships intended for piracy in the West Indies to take him back to Virginia and do something on behalf of his neglected friends. It was at first intended that several other Englishmen and abundant stores of necessary articles should go with him; but this arrangement

* SOUTHEY, *The British Admirals*, vol. iv., p. 238.

was overruled, and he was allowed to take nothing but his own personal property.

The three vessels, the *Hopewell*, the *John Evangelist*, and the *Little John*, with two shallops, left Plymouth on the 20th of March, 1590. "Both governors, masters, and sailors," says White, "regarding very smally the good of their countrymen in Virginia, determined nothing less than to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seek after purchase and spoils, spending so much time therein that summer was spent before we arrived at Virginia; and, when we were come thither, the season was so unfit and the weather so foul, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seen any of our planters."

Some search, however, was made for the planters. On the 1st of August, after much hunting and some spoiling of Spaniards, the mainland of the Virginian district was sighted. The ships were kept at sea, by bad weather, for a fortnight, and on the 15th they anchored off the southern edge of Roanoke. "At our first coming to anchor on this shore," says White, "we saw a great smoke in the isle, near the place where I left our colony in the year 1587; which smoke put us in good hope that some of the colony were there expecting my return out of England." That hope was soon dispelled. On the morning of the 16th, two boats were sent to examine the part from which the smoke had been seen to rise; but no men and no signs of white men's residence were found. Next day a more careful search was begun in two boats with crews of

nineteen persons. Let the story be told in Captain White's own words. "Before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile. There we espied, towards the north end of the island, the light of a great fire through the woods, to which we presently rowed. When we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore, and sounded with a trumpet a call, and after many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly. But we had no answer. We therefore landed at daybreak, and coming to the fire, we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island over against the mainland, and from thence we returned to the water-side, round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1587. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the savages' feet of two or three sorts trodden the night before; and, as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved the fair Roman letters C R O Which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them. I willed them that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, they should carve over the letters or name a cross. And having well considered of this, we passed towards the place where they were left in sundry

houses ; but we found the houses taken down and the place very strongly inclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with curtains and flankers very root-like, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground in fair capitals was graven, CROATAN, without any cross or sign of distress. This done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron rack shot, and such-like heavy things thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence we went along by the water-side, towards the point of the creek, to see if we could find any of the boats or pinnace, but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last falcons and small ordnance which were left with them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors, meeting us, told us that they had found where divers chests had been hidden and long since digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made three years past by Captain Amadas. There we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armour almost eaten through with rust. This could be no other but

the deed of the savages our enemies, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatan, and, as soon as they were departed, dugged up every place where they suspected anything to be buried. But, although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe-being at Croatan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends."

White of course greatly desired to go to Croatan and try to recover the colonists, among whom were his own daughter and grand-daughter. But, after one feeble effort, the captain of the fleet refused to assist him further in his search. Virginia and its English residents were abandoned, and the unworthy people who thus deserted them made a disastrous voyage to Plymouth, which they reached on the 24th of October.

That was the last of Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia. The patent which he had transferred to a company of merchants in 1589, and which apparently was never used by them, passed, in 1602, into the hands of a new and more enterprising company, which, in the following year, sent two small barks to explore the district. The report brought home being satisfactory, the new company was formally incorporated in 1606, and thereupon the real colonization of Virginia was promptly begun. Thence sprang the famous series of English settlements in the United States of America under the Stuarts in the seventeenth century. The first successful colonizing party was led by Captain Christopher

Newport in 1607, who heard from the natives that “the men, women, and children of the first plantation at Roanoke had been miserably slaughtered;” but that some of the English escaped from the slaughter, and going far inland lived peaceably with the natives. In 1607 it was reported there were “seven of the English alive, four men, two boys, and one maid.” Perhaps this “one maid” was Virginia Dare, the first English native of America, at that time nearly twenty years of age.*

* STRACHEY, *History of Travaill into Virginia Britannia*, ed. by MAJOR for the Hakluyt Society (1849).

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN DAVIS'S THREE VOYAGES IN THE DIRECTION OF CATHAY.

[1585—1587.]

IN 1497 and 1498 John and Sebastian Cabot, searching for a passage to Cathay, sailed northwards, past Newfoundland and Labrador, up to the entrance to Baffin's Bay, and appear to have reached the westernmost promontory of Cumberland Island in $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude and about 61 degrees of west longitude. During his three voyages in 1576, 1577, and 1578, Martin Frobisher visited the southern edge of Greenland, and then, crossing over to the broken districts north of America, confined his researches to the western half of the bay known after him as Frobisher's Straits, in 62 and 63 degrees of north latitude, and between 62 and 64 degrees of west longitude, just discovering, without defining, the mouth of Hudson's Straits. It was reserved for an abler and more fortunate voyager to follow up his exploration of Greenland as far as 72 degrees of north latitude, a hundred and fifty miles further north than the Cabots' furthest point, to trace the rugged coast-line of Cumberland Island between the districts visited by the Cabots and by Frobisher, and to

indicate the broad channel known by his name as Davis's Straits, the only entrance to Baffin's Bay, and the route followed by most later arctic voyagers in search of a passage to the Indies.

He fared better than one of Frobisher's comrades, Charles Jackman, who in company with Arthur Pet, an old associate of Willoughby and Chancellor, set out on the 31st of May, 1580, in pursuit of that north-eastern quest of Cathay which had cost Willoughby and Chancellor their lives. This expedition was organized by the Muscovy Company, being the first of its appointment since the voyage of 1556, in which Stephen Burroughs had sailed along the northern coast of Russia, and passed between Nova Zembla and Vaigats, into the Sea of Kara. Pet and Jackman left Harwich, with two barks, one of forty the other of twenty tons' burthen. At Wardhus in Lapland, they parted company on the 24th of June. Pet reached the upper part of the more southern of the two Nova Zembla islands on the 4th of July, and then, sailing downwards, tried to enter the straits found by Burroughs. Failing therein, he followed the coast of Russia and discovered, on the 17th of the month, the channel between it and Vaigats, henceforth known as Pet's Straits. Thus he entered the Sea of Kara, and after vainly attempting to proceed further westwards through the pack of ice, fell in with Jackman, who had made a passage into the same waters by way of Burroughs' Straits. The partners met on the 24th of July and made another effort to continue their voyage to China. "Winds

we had in plenty," says the chronicler, "but ice and fogs much against our will, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise." For nearly three weeks they were locked in the ice, and then, abandoning the work, turned back to Vaigats, which they reached on the 15th of August. There and along the Russian coast the approach of winter bringing fresh stores of ice, caused many fresh delays. Pet arrived in England on the 26th of December. Jackman wintered in Norway and died on his way home in the following spring.*

The expedition added very little to geographical knowledge, and its failure increased the reasonable distrust that was growing in nearly all men's minds with reference to the project of a north-eastern passage to Cathay. There was quite as much reason for doubt as to the possibility of safely reaching the same district by a north-western route. But here, at any rate, was more room for enterprising search, and neither active seamen nor stay-at-home adventurers were long deterred from it by the disastrous incidents of Frobisher's third voyage. While the voyage in which it had been intended that Frobisher should make a fourth attempt was diverted from its original purpose and turned into a piratical attack upon the Spanish possessions in the southern seas, and while Frobisher himself was in disrepute by reason of the bursting of his golden bubble, schemes for carrying on the work to which he had devoted himself were as rife as ever.

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, Otho E., viii., fols. 67—77, and a shorter account in *HAKLUYT*, vol. i., pp. 445—450.

The first man of note who tried to bring them to an issue was Adrian Gilbert, a younger brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1583 he petitioned Queen Elizabeth for permission to found a new company to be called "The Collegiate of the Fellowship of New Navigations, Atlantical and Septentrional," which, with powers to travel and settle in any hitherto unoccupied parts, was in the first instance to devote itself to the search and discovery of the north-west passage to China. That request was partly acceded to in letters patent which were issued to Adrian Gilbert, on the 6th of February, 1584. By them a "Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-West Passage" was authorised, provided that a sufficient number of such adventurers "as should venture their money and not their names" could be brought together; and as chief managers of the enterprise were named Adrian Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, and John Davis, who were "to be custom free for their proper goods, which during the space of sixty years they should bring from those lands to be discovered." *

It is probable that Adrian Gilbert himself was one more ready to venture his name than his money; and Raleigh was sufficiently occupied with his Virginian colony. Therefore the pretentious "Fellowship of New Navigations Atlantical and Septentrional" came to nothing. But John Davis was in earnest, and being deserted by his friends at Court, he found friends in the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, Addenda; *Ibid.*, vol. cxxx., No. 20; HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 96—98.

City, who enabled him, in 1585, to set out on a new Cathayan search.

Of his previous history we know nothing, save that he was known to be “a man very well grounded in the art of navigation ;” and of the steps by which his employment in this special work of navigation was brought about we know very little. He tells us himself that he had an excellent patron in Sir Francis Walsingham. But his chief supporter was a London merchant named William Sanderson, “who was so forward therein that, besides his travail, which was not small, he became the greatest adventurer with his purse.” With him were associated several other merchants of London and the west of England, and especial care seems to have been taken in fitting out the expedition with suitable provisions and trustworthy men.

Two barks, the *Sunshine*, of 50 tons’ burthen, and the *Moonshine*, of 35 tons, left Dartmouth on the 7th of June. In the *Sunshine* were Captain Davis and seventeen officers and sailors, besides four musicians, and John Jane, a merchant, who went as Sanderson’s deputy, and who has written the history of the voyage.* In the *Moonshine* were Captain William Bruton, and eighteen others. Bad winds and weather caused three short delays, and the vessels had to put in once at Falmouth and twice by the Scilly Islands. They fairly left the English coast on the 28th of June and sailed on, amid frequent storms and fogs, for two-and-twenty days without

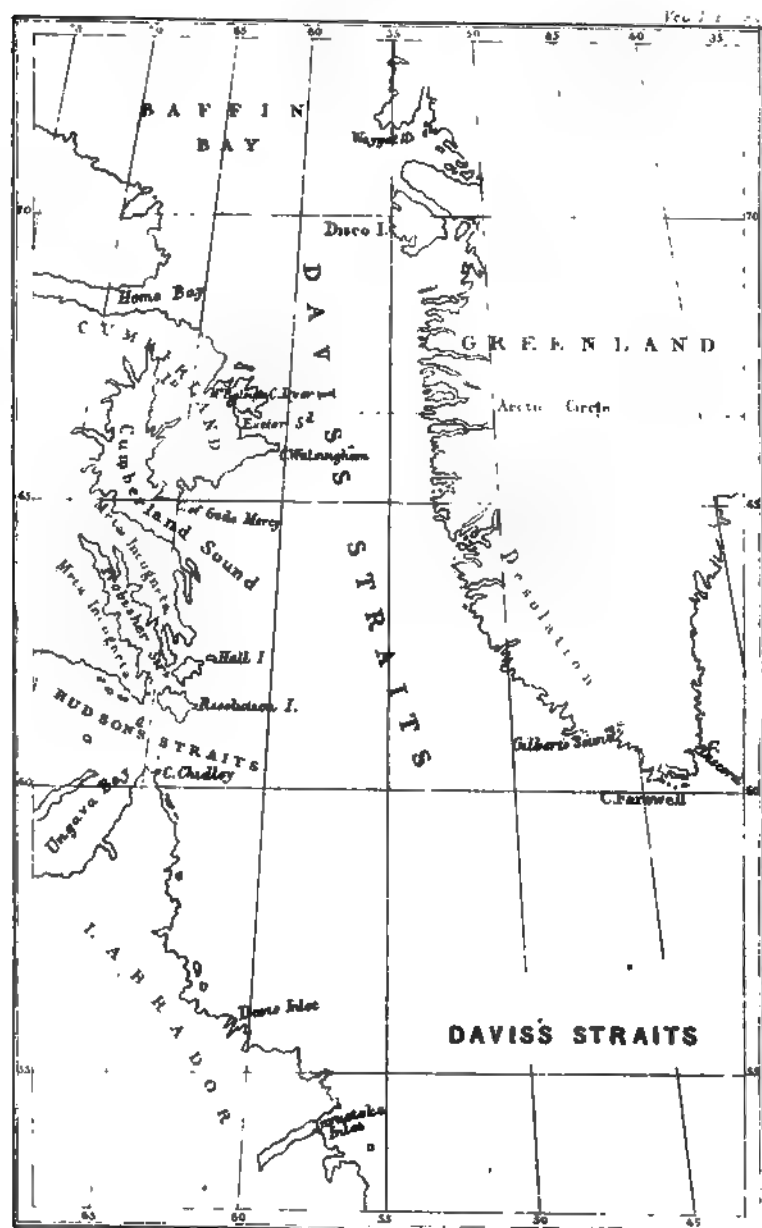
* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 98—103. There is also a brief memoir of the voyage by Davis himself, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 119.

seeing land. They saw, however, plenty of porpoises and whales. The porpoises Davis tried hard to capture with harpoons, with pikes, and with a boat-hook. Some were wounded, but only one, which they called a "darlie head," could be brought on board. It was cooked and "did eat as sweet as any mutton." The whales they did not attempt to catch or trouble.

On the 19th of July they were becalmed off the coast of Greenland, which a fog hindered them from seeing, though they heard "a mighty great roaring of the sea, as if it had been the breach of some shore." On the 20th, after sailing further northward, they passed out of the fog and beheld the shore. "The land," said Davis, "was very high and full of mighty mountains, all covered with snow; no view of wood, grass, or earth to be seen, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of ice as that no shipping could by any means come near the same. The loathsome view of the shore and irksome noise of the ice was such that it bred strange conceits among us, so that we supposed the place to be waste and void of any sensible or vegetable creatures." "It seemed," we are also told, "to be the true pattern of desolation;" and therefore Davis fitly named it the Land of Desolation. This was not the modern Cape Desolation, but the south-eastern part of Greenland, now called Cape Discord,—another apt name by reason of the contrary currents with which its coast is vexed.

Davis turned southwards and passed round Cape Farewell on the 25th of July, whence, after vainly trying to land, he directed his course towards the north-

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west, in good hope that thus he should sail on to Cathay. On the 29th, after having lost sight of Greenland for four days, he was tempted by the absence of ice to approach the shore again, and was able to make an easy landing upon one or two of the small islands in the south-western bay to which he gave the name of Gilbert's Sound. They were "green and pleasant isles," but the mainland was still covered with great quantities of snow. In this bay the travellers rested and refreshed themselves. They also made some acquaintance with the natives. "The people of the country," says Davis, "having espied our ships, came down unto us in their canoes, and, holding up their right hand to the sun and crying *Iliaout*, would strike their breasts. We doing the like, the people came aboard our ships, men of good stature, unbearded, small eyed, and of tractable conditions." "I shook hands with one of them," we read in Jane's fuller record, "and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them upon this simple acquaintance that we could have anything they had. We bought five canoes of them. We bought the clothes from their backs, which were all made of seals' skins and birds' skins, their buskins, their hose, their gloves, all being commonly sewed, and well dressed; so that we were fully persuaded that they have divers artificers among them. We had a pair of fine buskins of them, full of fine wool like beaver. We had of their darts and oars, and found that they would by no means displease us, but would give us whatsoever we asked of them, and would be satisfied

with whatsoever we gave them. They took great care of one another, for, when we bought their boats, then two others would come and carry him away between them that had sold his. They are a very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easy to be brought to any civility and good order; but we judge them to be idolaters and to worship the sun." It was always a wonder to European travellers in those days that the simple people whom they visited did not share with them the complicated system of theology that had been developed by long centuries of mysticism and scholasticism out of the oriental fancies and traditions on which it had been founded.

These Greenlanders by signs gave Davis to understand that there was a great and open sea to the northwest, and he renewed his voyage in search of it on the 1st of August. But the search was very soon abandoned for that year. He entered the broad channel which is named after him Davis's Straits, and, sailing right across it in a northerly direction, on the 6th of August reached its opposite shore in sixty-six and a half degrees of latitude. "We anchored," says the chronicler, "in a very fair road under a brave mount, the cliffs whereof were as orient as gold." The mountain they called Mount Raleigh. The bay which led up to it they named Exeter Sound; to its northern and southern shores were given the titles of Dyer's Cape and Cape Walsingham. "So soon as we were come to an anchor under Mount Raleigh," says Jane, "we espied four white bears at the foot of the mount. Supposing them to be

goats or wolves, we manned our boats and went towards them ; but when we came near the shore, we found them to be white bears of a monstrous bigness. Then we being desirous of fresh victuals and the sport, began to assail them, and, I being on land, one of them came down the hill right against me. My piece was charged with hail shot and a bullet, which I discharged and shot him in the neck. He roared a little and took the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boar-spears ; and two more that night." Next day was slain another bear. " When we came up to him he lay fast asleep. I levelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gave no fire. With that he looked up, and laid down his head again. Then I shot, being charged with two bullets, and struck him on the head. He, being but amazed, fell backwards. Whereupon we ran all upon him with boar-spears, and thrust him in the body. Yet, for all that, he gripped away our boat-spears, and went towards the water. Then he came back again, and our master shot his boar-spear and struck him in the head, and made him take the water and swim into a cove fast by, where we killed him and brought him aboard. The breadth of his fore foot, from one side to the other, was fourteen inches."

Bears and a raven were all the inhabitants that the voyagers saw in their new halting-place. They found no signs of human life, no wood or grass or earth, nothing but a mass of rock, which, they said, was "the bravest stone that ever they saw," with here and there a flower like a primrose blossoming in the midst of barrenness.

Here they could not rest, and they had no safe place in which to leave their ships if they had wished to search inland. Some of the sailors, moreover, began to grumble at the smallness of their rations, and the store of food was getting scanty. "Therefore," says Davis, "considering the year was spent, and not knowing the length of the strait and the dangers thereof, we took it our best course to return with notice of our good success for this small time of search."

The success had really been good. Davis had, for the first time, explored the southern coast of Greenland or Desolation, had proved the existence of the great channel known as Davis's Straits, and had visited the eastern side of Cumberland Island, very near to the most northern limit of old John Cabot's voyage, and at the narrowest part of the Straits, which were there nearly two hundred miles broad.

He turned homewards on the 9th of August. After coasting Cumberland Island for two days, he reached its southern corner, which he called the Cape of God's Mercy. A fortnight was spent in visiting some small islands in its neighbourhood and exploring the entrance to Cumberland Sound in which they were situated. The discovery of these straits, while giving great delight to Davis, caused him some confusion. He thought that here, too, was a passage to the Indies, and he had some difficulty in giving up a plan for next year attempting to sail through them instead of following the course he had previously marked out. But the season was too far advanced for him to attempt any new work then ; and,

therefore, he left Cumberland Sound and its islands on the 26th of August. On the 10th of September he reached the Land of Desolation, where he was prevented from anchoring by a violent storm and the fog that succeeded it. In that storm the *Moonshine* disappeared and was given up for lost. It was recovered on the 13th and missed again on the 27th. Both *Sunshine* and *Moonshine*, however, safely reached Dartmouth on the 30th of September, within two hours of one another.

The light thrown by them upon an important section of the Arctic world, and the excellent way in which they had been carried through their dangerous voyaging, gave such satisfaction to the merchants who had sent them out that they at once resolved to prepare another expedition for the following year. In this many other merchants, especially from Exeter and the west of England, and a few courtiers and statesmen, following the lead of Sir Francis Walsingham offered to take part. The result was, that on the 7th of May, 1586, Davis was able to leave Dartmouth with four vessels, a goodly ship of 120 tons' burthen named the *Mermaid*, his old *Sunshine* and *Moonshine*, and the *North Star*, a little pinnace of 10 tons.*

He was near Iceland on the 7th of June, and there resolved to divide his party. Going himself, with the *Mermaid* and the *Moonshine*, in the direction of his former voyage, he sent the *Sunshine* and the *North Star*

* There are two accounts of this expedition by Davis himself, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 103—108, 119, 120. In pp. 109, 110 is also a short memoir of the exploits of the *Sunshine*, by Henry Morgan.

to explore Iceland and the eastern side of Greenland, and to see if there was any hope of a direct northern passage to Cathay. This mission was not very successful. Richard Pope, who had charge of it, sailed round the southern and western sides of Iceland, and, landing on its North Cape, had some intercourse with its people. "Their dwelling-houses," we are told, "were made on both sides with stones and wood laid over them, which was covered over with turfs of earth, and they are flat on the tops. Their boats were made of wood and iron all along the keel, like our English boats; and they had nails for to nail them withal, and fish-hooks and other things for to catch fish, as we have in England. They have also brazen kettles, and girdles and purses made of leather, and knops on them of copper, and hatchets, and other small tools as necessary, as we have." Off Iceland Pope met an English fishing-vessel and two others, and then he crossed over to Greenland, reaching it on the 7th of July. "It was very high and looked very blue," but a firm block of ice prevented him from landing. Then coasting southwards and passing, on the 17th of July, the part of Desolation Land which Davis had visited in 1585, he cleared Cape Farewell on the last day of the month. Thence he proceeded to Gilbert's Sound, there, according to his orders, to wait for Davis's return and to tell how very little he had done in the way of Arctic voyaging. He waited for a month, which he and his people were satisfied to spend in discovering the corpses of three Greenlanders, in firing upon some who were alive, and once or twice in playing



football with them after a fashion of their own, the wit and merit of which consisted in tripping up the natives as they ran after the ball. "Thus much," says the complacent historian of the undertaking, "of that which we did see and do in that harbour where we arrived first."

A little more they saw and did. Tired of waiting for Davis, they resolved to make their own way back to England. First, however, they worked up a quarrel with the natives, and, having captured three of them on shipboard, indulged in a little butchery. "Two of them were hurt with arrows in the breasts, and one was shot with an arrow, and hurt with a sword and beaten with staves." After that it was a matter of surprise to them that the Greenlanders refused to have any more intercourse with their civilised and Christian visitors. The *Sunshine* and the *North Star* sailed homewards on the 31st of August. The *North Star* was wrecked on the 3rd of September, and the *Sunshine* entered the Thames on the 6th of October.

Davis reached home before them, after doing much worthier work. Having parted from Pope on the 7th of June, he had gone as directly as bad weather would allow to Gilbert's Sound, meeting on the way a great iceberg which he mistook for an island, and being troubled all along by the great blocks of ice which the weak summer sun had not yet broken up, or had only so far broken up as to make them especially dangerous. He did not reach his intended halting-place till the 29th of June, but then his honest heart had reward

enough in the welcome given to him by his native friends. "The ships being within the sounds," he says, "we sent our boat to search for shoal water, where we might anchor, and, as the boats went sounding and searching, the people of the country, having espied them, came in their canoes towards them with many shouts and cries. But after they had espied in the boat some of our company that were here the year before with us, they presently rowed to the boat and took hold on the oars, and hung about the boat with such comfortable joy as would require a long discourse to be uttered. They came with the boats to our ships, making signs that they knew all those that the year before had been with them. After I perceived their joy and small fear of us, myself with the merchants and others of the company went ashore, bearing with me twenty knives. I had no sooner landed but they leapt out of their canoes, and came running to me and the rest, and embraced us with many signs of hearty welcome. At this present there were eighteen of them, and to each of them I gave a knife. They offered skins to me for reward, but I made signs that they were not sold but given them of courtesy, and so dismissed them for that time, with signs that they should return again after certain hours." They did return in plenty, coming up in as many as a hundred canoes, and bringing with them loads of skins and fish, fat boars and birds just killed, the best of everything they had, to offer to the white men who came to them as friends.

Foul weather and a desire to see more of the plea-

sant district which he had reached, in which, too, he thought of building a fort for winter residence, if that should seem necessary to the prosecution of his Arctic quest, caused Davis to spend a fortnight in Gilbert's Sound. Giving strict orders that during his absence no injury should be done to the natives, and that no gun should be fired even in sport, he sent one of the boats to explore the coast in one direction and himself proceeded in another. Within the wall of snow-capped rocks and mountains that lined the shore he found open and inviting country, "with earth and grass, such as our moory and waste grounds of England are," but he sought in vain for villages or any signs of settled life. Only a big grave was discovered, with many corpses in it, and a movable covering of seal-skins.

Wherever he went Davis reports that he was followed by a wondering and respectful crowd of Greenlanders, "very diligent to attend them and to help them up the rocks and likewise down." "At length," he continues, "I was desirous to have our men leap with them, which was done; but our men did overleap them. From leaping they went to wrestling. We found them strong and nimble, and to have skill in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers. They are of good stature, in body well-proportioned, with small, slender hands and feet, with broad visages and small eyes, wide mouths, great lips, close-toothed, and the most part unbearded. Their custom is, as often as they go from us, still at their return to make a new truce, in this sort; holding his hand up to the sun, with a

loud voice he crieth *Iliaout*, and striketh his breast, with like signs. Being promised safety, he giveth credit. They are idolaters, and have images, great store, which they wear about them and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and have many kinds of enchantments, which they often used, but to small purpose, thanks be to God. They eat all their meat raw; they live most upon fish; they drink salt water and eat grass and ice with great delight. They are never out of the water save when dead sleep taketh them, and then under a warm rock, laying their boats upon the land, they lie down to sleep."

There were only two faults found in these simple people, faults shared by all rude races, and only faults at all by reason of their ignorance of the ways of putting the same tendencies to decent use that come, or are supposed to come, with civilization. They were too inquisitive and too acquisitive. Their wonder at the strange things that they saw induced mischievous handling of them, and their desire to have for their own more than was given or sold to them caused them to try and steal what they could not obtain as presents or purchases, and, when this was objected to, pettishly to attempt to destroy them. "They are very simple in their conversation," says Davis, "but marvellously thievish, especially of iron, which they have in great esteem."

The unfortunate result was rapid growth of ill-feeling between the Greenlanders and their visitors while Davis was away on his little explorations. "They cut away

the *Moonshine's* boat from her stern," he tells us; "they cut our cables and our cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look to it; they stole our oars, a caliver, a boat, a spear, a sword, with divers other things, which so grieved the company that they desired me to dissolve this new friendship." Good and honest Davis was very loth to do this, or to punish the natives for offences that in them were hardly culpable. As he told his grumbling sailors, the Greenlanders could not be expected in so short a time "to know their evils." He tried, first, to frighten without hurting them by firing into the air, whereat they all ran away. "Within ten hours," he says, "they returned and entreated a peace, which being granted they brought us seal-skins and salmon-peal; but, when they saw iron, they could not forbear stealing, which when I perceived, I commanded that in no case they should be any more hardly used, but that our own people should be more vigilant to keep their things."

In his kindly efforts Davis only half succeeded. On the 7th of July he went off on another little boat-journey. "On the 9th," he says, "we returned to our ships, where our mariners complained heavily against the people, that they had stolen an anchor from us, had cut one of our cables very dangerously, and spared not to fling stones at us of half a pound's weight. The next day I went ashore and used them with much courtesy, and when I returned they followed me on board, whom I used kindly, and let them depart; but as soon as sun was set they began to practise their

devilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the *Moonshine* and knocked down the boatswain. Whereupon we pursued them with our boats and shot at them, but they rowed so swiftly that we could not reach them. On the 11th five of them came to make a new truce. The master acquainted me with their coming and desired they might be kept prisoners until we had our anchor again, and when he saw the chief ringleader and master of mischief was one of the five, he was very urgent to have him seized. So it was determined to take him. He came crying *Iliaout*, and, striking his breast, offered a pair of gloves to sell. The master offered him a knife for them. So two of them came to us: one we dismissed, but the other was soon made captive among us." Davis made signs to him that he should be released as soon as the anchor was returned. That was soon done; but Davis broke his promise, the only piece of treachery or unkindness that can be charged against him through all the period of his Arctic voyaging. He held his prisoner and took him to sea with him. "One of his companions, following our ship in his canoe," we read in the charmingly quaint narrative, "talked with him and seemed to lament his condition. At last he aboard spake four or five words to the other, and clapped both his hands on his face. The other did the like, and so they parted. We used him well. After some time he became a pleasant companion among us. I gave him a new suit of frieze of the English fashion, of which he was very fond. He trimmed up his darts and all his fishing-

tools, and would make oakum and set his hand to the rope's-end."

Davis left Gilbert's Sound on the 11th of July, three weeks before the arrival of the unworthy mariners of the *Sunshine* and the *North Star*. Some of his own mariners were not worth very much. Sailing westward the *Mermaid* and the *Moonshine* fell in, on the 17th, with an iceberg, so large and so curiously marked along its edge with bays and capes that it was supposed to be an island wrapped in snow which hitherto had not been seen. The discovery that it was ice, and only a fragment of the vast pack of ice along which the voyagers had slowly and painfully to work their way for a fortnight, amid fogs which changed the day into worse than night, and, fastening on the shrouds, ropes, and sails turned all into a frozen mass, filled most of them with despair. They loved and honoured their brave captain too much to turn mutinous; but though Davis saw that they did their work "very orderly and discreetly," they did it without heart. At length they gathered round him and openly declared their fears. They begged that he would show pity on their forlorn condition; that, if he set no store on his own life, he would at any rate have some regard for theirs, and not, "through his over-boldness, leave their widows and fatherless children to give him bitter curses."

In that trouble Davis did the wisest thing that was possible to him. He pitied rather than blamed his faint-hearted sailors. He did not choose to listen to their entreaties and go home with them; but he saw

that if he forced them to accompany him, their unwilling attendance would only impede his movements. Therefore, turning eastward again and making for the nearest land, which happened to be the coast of Greenland, in $66\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude, about five hundred miles to the north of Gilbert's Sound, he there rearranged his crews and his provisions. The bravest of his followers he collected, with a sufficiency of food and other furniture, in the little *Moonshine*, of 35 tons' burthen, determined in it to voyage on "as God should direct him." The larger *Mermaid* he assigned to those who wished to go home.

With those arrangements he was occupied between the 2nd and the 12th of August. Even then, however, he found time for cultivating, in his characteristic way, some friendship with the natives of this central part of Greenland. "On one day," he says in his diary, "I went to the top of a hill, and, espying three canoes under a rock, went unto them. There were in them skins, darts, and divers superstitious toys, whereof we diminished nothing; but left upon every boat a silk point, a bullet of lead, and a pin." Thereby the natives were encouraged to approach their visitors, and a small trade was carried on with them in skins and other articles.

Leaving this shore on the 12th of August, and saving his little vessel from destruction by anchoring it to an iceberg throughout one night, Davis crossed over to Cumberland Island, and made his way into the Cumberland Sound which he had desired to explore when he was

forced to return from his former voyage. "I followed the same eighty leagues," he says, "until I came among many islands, where the water did ebb and flow six fathoms upright, and where there had been great trade of people to make train. But, by such things as there we found, we knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had followed that trade." Perhaps Davis, in his hasty observations overestimated the importance of this native commerce.

He was not long in Cumberland Sound. In it he thought there was great hope of finding a passage to Cathay. But he wisely judged, as he had done the year before, that it was impossible to prolong the search for it so near the end of the brief summer season, and he saw that his little *Moonshine*, with no other vessel to take refuge in in case of mischance, was quite unequal to the work. Therefore he turned back on the 20th of August, resolved to spend the next few weeks in exploring the coast-line to the south. He passed Fro-bisher's Meta Incognita and Hudson's Straits, apparently failing to discern the importance of that great channel, if indeed, amid the blocks of ice that hindered him from entering it, he even perceived that it was a great channel, larger and more propitious than Cumberland Sound. He skirted the shores of Labrador and discovered Davis's Inlet, now usually called Esquimaux Bay, where bad weather caused him to take shelter between the 28th of August and the 1st of September. In that neighbourhood he saw bears and deer, as well as a great number of pheasants, partridges, wild ducks,

and other birds. Yet more plentiful was the fish. "We being unprovided with fishing furniture," he says, "with a long spike-nail made a hook and fastened the same to our sounding-lines. We took more than forty great cod, the fish swimming so abundantly thick about our bark as is incredible to be reported; of which, with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserved some thirty couple or thereabouts." Then he continued his explorations down to what is now known as Ivuctoke Inlet, in $54\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude, which he thought might be another passage to the Pacific Ocean.

Thus Davis was occupied till the 10th of September, when a sudden storm nearly took away his only anchor and did much damage to the *Moonshine*. He had already lost two of his men, who had been attacked by the natives of an island off Labrador, and he decided that, if he was to reach England at all, he must return at once. Accordingly he set sail on the 11th of September, and arrived at Dartmouth on the 1st or 2nd of October, having crossed the Atlantic in three weeks.

Besides adding much to his discoveries along the coast of Greenland, he had thus, during his five months' absence, traced the western side of Davis's Straits from Cape Walsingham down to nearly the most southern parts of Labrador, following, with curious exactness, the track made by John Cabot eighty-nine years before. His employers, however, were not satisfied with the report of his discoveries. They saw that Cathay was nearly as far off as ever, and the only circumstance that

pleased them in the whole voyage was the abundant fish-taking about two hundred miles above the already much-frequented cod district of Newfoundland. The west-country merchants and several in London refused to be partners in another voyage in the direction of the Indies. Sanderson, still as zealous as ever, could only obtain subscriptions for the equipment of three vessels, the *Sunshine*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Helen*, on the understanding that two of them were to go no further than Labrador, and there to be applied in cod-fishing, while Davis continued his Arctic researches in the third. It was hoped that the cod brought home would pay for the doubtful voyaging towards Cathay.

The vessels left Dartmouth on the 19th of May, 1587.* Davis took them in the direction of Gilbert's Sound, intending thence to send the two fishing-vessels across to Labrador and himself to go northwards. Even Gilbert's Sound was too northern a part for the timorous dispositions of many of his sailors. On the 12th of June, when the Sound was almost in sight, there were threats of a mutiny on board the *Sunshine*, and Davis could hardly persuade the crews to keep together for a few days longer. His old halting-place was safely reached, however, on the 16th of June, and there the ships waited till the 21st, while the stores were divided and other arrangements were made for the separation of the fishing and the exploring parties.

* All my information touching this voyage is derived from HAKLUYT, vol. iii.,—containing a tolerably full account by John Jane, in pp. 111—114; Davis's own short memoir, p. 120, and a very precise log-book, also by him, pp. 115—118.

One chief work was the setting up of a pinnace which had been brought out in pieces, and which Davis had hoped to find very useful in the prosecution of his search. This was spoiled by the Greenlanders, whose thieving and mischievous propensities had given trouble enough in July, 1586, and who had been made very much more troublesome by the evil treatment to which they had been subjected in the following August. No sooner had the pinnace been put together on the shore of a little island, than they took advantage of the night-time and pulled it to pieces again, took all the nails out of the wood, and stole every bit of iron they could lay hands on. Detected in the act, they very deftly turned the broken boat into a barricade, and so saved themselves from punishment. Orders were given that they should be fired at, but the gunners, out of regard for the pinnace, and, as they said, also in pity for the natives, put no shot with their powder. The Greenlanders were frightened away by the smoke, and all the pieces of iron that they could not carry off as they ran down to their canoes were recovered along with the woodwork. But so much harm was done to the pinnace that, when put together again, Davis found it useless for his purpose, and had to convert it into a clumsy and not very safe fishing-boat for the *Elizabeth*.

That done, the fishing party was despatched from Gilbert's Sound on the 21st of June. In the vessel assigned to him—we are not told which of the three—Davis proceeded on his work. Many of his comrades were out of heart, even at the time of starting. They

asked to be taken home, or at any rate no further than Labrador. But Davis, says one of them, "by whom we all were governed, determined rather to end his life with credit than to return with injury and disgrace, and so, being all agreed, we proposed to live and die together, and committed ourselves to the ship."

The first part of the voyage was without much peril. Coasting the western side of Greenland, Davis was met by successive parties of natives, who came out to him in their canoes, and bartered their rude commodities for whatever the English were willing to give them. "For a knife, a nail, or a bracelet," we read, "they would sell their boats, their coats, and everything they had, although they were far from the shore." One "unicorn's horn," as it was considered, was exchanged for a knife, and with a few trinkets were bought a great number of skins, which proved very serviceable to the English in their cold journeying.

On the 24th of June, when he was opposite to Cape Walsingham, and when he was really in the narrowest part of the straits, though then nearly two hundred miles broad, Davis saw a great iceberg with deceptive show of mountains, cliffs, and bays, and fancied that it was part of Cumberland Island. "When I saw the land of both sides," he says, "I began to distrust it would prove but a gulf." But he sailed on, and soon, passing the iceberg and passing out of his straits, entered the wider channel into the Polar Sea, which is known as Baffin's Bay.

On the 30th of June he was in 72 degrees of latitude,

two hundred and fifty miles further north than any previous Arctic voyager had reached. He was near the modern Danish settlement of Upernavik, and to the little promontory which he discovered he gave the name of Sanderson's Hope. The people came out in their canoes to meet him, sometimes as many as a hundred at once, and gladly sold to him a good store of dried fish and flesh, and some freshly-killed birds as well. He made no stay among them, as his eager eyes, looking northwards, discerned "no ice, but a great sea, free, large, very salt, and very blue," through which, he said, "it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment towards the north."

There was plenty of impediment. On the same day a dense fog arose, precursor of the rush of icebergs that the summer sun and a north wind just set in were driving down the channel. On the 1st of July Davis found his course blocked up by a great island of ice, and passing round that, he fell in with another and another. The whole sea was full of icebergs, large and small, through which he vainly tried to work his way during nearly a fortnight. Sailing first in one direction and then in another, he could do nothing but save his little bark from destruction, and made no progress at all. On the 13th of July he was again near Sanderson's Hope. The natives came out to meet him as they had done before, "pointing to the shore," we read, "as though they would show us some great friendship; but we, little regarding their courtesy, gave them a gentle farewell, and so departed." Good-hearted

Davis was afraid that further intimacy would lead, as it had done in Gilbert's Sound, to quarrelling and mutual injury. He preferred the perilous sea, and made a fresh attempt to pursue his northern voyage. The ice, however, growing every day more plentiful, formed an impenetrable barrier. Finding it impossible to go further north, he slowly worked his way westward, and, as the ice bore down to the south, he was forced to go with it.

Thus driven, Davis found himself, on the 19th of July, in the neighbourhood of Mount Raleigh. He took shelter in Cumberland Sound, and then, during three days, tried to make a passage through that smaller channel, which, in both his former voyages, had seemed to him as likely as Davis's Straits to lead on to Cathay. But Cumberland Sound was altogether frozen over, and six days were spent in ploughing back through the troubled waters which, in entering, had been traversed in three days.

On one of these six days, the 25th of July, Davis landed on Cumberland Island. He saw some Esquimau dogs which were too fat to run. He also saw a number of graves, or mounds that looked like graves, and traces of visits paid by natives for the extraction of whale oil. He was much astonished at the unusual heat that prevailed amid all the snow and ice. His three voyages had not made him familiar with the mysteries of Arctic climatology.

Reaching the mouth of Cumberland Sound on the 29th of July, Davis wisely concluded that it was not

possible for him, in his one little bark, leaky from the time of quitting Gilbert's Sound, and much damaged by recent battles with the ice, to attempt any further northern voyaging. Therefore he travelled south with the icebergs. On the 30th he crossed the entrance to Frobisher's Straits, and approached Warwick's Headland, which was the name given to Resolution Island. On the 31st he passed Hudson's Straits, where, he says, "to our great admiration, we saw the sea falling down into the gulf, with a mighty overfall and roaring, and with divers circular motions like whirlpools, in such sort as forcible streams pass through the arches of bridges." The corner of Labrador opposite to Resolution Island he called Cape Chidley, and thence, on the 1st of August, a "frisking gale" helped him on his southward voyage. On the 12th he touched at a place which he named Darcy's Island, and there had some sport in hunting bears and deer and hares, which formed a timely addition to his scanty remnant of provisions. On the 13th his worn-out little ship struck a rock and was further disabled. He had already passed the neighbourhood in which he expected to find the two ships which, a couple of months before, had left him to go fishing on the coast of Labrador, with instructions to await his return from the north. These ships, however, had long before made their way back to England. It is not clear whether their crews, tired of voyaging even before they parted from Davis in June, ever went to Labrador at all. At any rate they were not there in August. By the 15th of the month, Davis had traversed

the whole coast and was almost within sight of Newfoundland. "Then," he says, "being forsaken and left in this distress, referring myself to the merciful providence of God, I shaped my course for England, and, unhopcd for of any, God alone relieving me, I arrived at Dartmouth." That was on the 15th of September.

Davis never went north again. The day after his arrival, he sent a report of his expedition to Sanderson, and urged continuance of the search in a better vessel than the one in which he had been able to do so much. "The passage is most probable," he said, "and the execution easy." Few people seem to have shared this belief with him. "This Davis," they said, "hath been three times employed, why hath he not found the passage?" Therefore, in spite of the countenance still given to him by Sir Francis Walsingham and some others, he found it impossible to arouse interest enough for the appointment of a fourth voyage.

For this want of interest in Arctic voyaging there was just then special reason in the demands made upon the energies of all patriotic Englishmen by the threatened coming of the Spanish Armada. But when this great peril was safely overpast, and men were able to give their thoughts to other work, Davis still failed in gaining the support that he desired. In a memorial which he addressed to Walsingham, he repeated all the old arguments with a new one to the effect that even in the case of failure in reaching Cathay, England and Queen Elizabeth would gain by the employment in good naval work of "many of those busy and fiery

spirits that, by their factious stirrings at home, served only to create confusion in Church and State." He represented that it must certainly be of great service to the nation to keep up a constant succession of Arctic enterprises, as by them the northern regions would gradually be explored and probably colonized. If they were cold, he had proved by his own experience that they were adapted for healthy residence; and if they were barren, he had shown that they furnished, at any rate, some articles of trade that were sought for and held valuable. The furs which he had brought home, he said, yielded a higher price than those obtained from Muscovy, and were more esteemed at Court. If the fashion of wearing them at Court were further encouraged, he added, some fresh interest might thus be roused in favour of the voyaging by which they were to be procured,—“For you know right well, most honourable sir, that it is a great secret in policy to make the follies of the extravagant and the vanity of the ambitious contribute to the maintenance of industry, so that even the vicious and the lazy may, of their own accord, furnish the rewards of labour and virtue.”*

But all Davis's persuasions were of no avail, and after Sir Francis Walsingham's death, in 1590, he seems to have ceased from offering them. “When his Honour died,” he said, “the voyage was friendless, and men's minds alienated from adventuring therein.”† Therefore he himself turned to other work.

* HARRIS, *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii.

† HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 120.

CHAPTER X.

THE END OF THE CATHAYAN QUEST.

[1579—1603.]

WITH John Davis's third voyage the English search for Cathay was brought to a close. Through the two centuries and a half ensuing, from his day to Sir John Franklin's, the work of north-western discovery, in which he had better success than any of his forerunners, was continued, and besides its great services to geographical science, provided an excellent school for English seamanship. But with that noble work the old fables about Cathay were no longer, or only to a very small extent, associated. Travellers by land and sea, and map-makers and prudent thinkers who stayed at home, had come to the conclusion that, though India and the islands beyond it, from Java to Japan, were worth all the pains that could possibly be taken in exploring and trading with them, there was no such region of wonderful splendour and stupendous riches as Friar Rubruquis and Marco Polo and Friar Odoric had represented. Davis's successors, therefore, sought only to break through the icy barriers of the Arctic Sea and find a passage to the real wealth of India. Entering

upon their work with less extravagant hopes, and with better knowledge of the dangers and difficulties incident to it, they were prepared for the disappointments that befell them, and satisfied with the comparatively small results that, from generation to generation, attended the heroic work to which they devoted themselves.

In the meanwhile, for those whose only object was to reach the Indies in the easiest way, another route was being opened up. The route was an old one. From 1498, when Vasco de Gama first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed across the Indian Ocean up to Calicut, it had been followed with growing interest and profit by the fleets of Portugal. But through more than three quarters of a century the East Indies had been reserved as exclusively for Portuguese adventurers as were the West Indies for the hidalgos of Spain; and when, in 1580, Philip II. seized the throne of Portugal, both East and West Indies became the common property of Spaniards and Portuguese. While England was Catholic, it dared not interfere with the monopolies which the southern nations of Europe held under sanction of the Pope; and for some time after Englishmen had learnt to disregard all papal interdicts, they had not naval strength enough to venture upon the seas in which Portuguese and Spanish galleys protected the rich freights of Portuguese and Spanish galleons coming from the East and the West Indies. At first, as we shall see in later chapters, they forced their way into the mid Atlantic Ocean, and began to wrest from Spain some of its West Indian treasures, and then, gaining

courage therein, they pressed on across the broad Pacific, and came into collision with its forces in the East Indies. Thus while Frobisher and others were attempting to reach the Indies by what was thought to be the shortest passage, the same end was being attained, through the longest passage that could possibly be taken, by Drake and his followers.

India being once reached by Englishmen, they determined to pursue their traffic with it; and the great triumph which British prowess, favoured by an accident, secured in the overthrow of the Spanish Armada, made their new enterprise far easier than it could otherwise have been.

But one Englishman, at any rate, had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and thus made the voyage to India, long before the time of the Great Armada Fight. He was a native of Wiltshire, and a Jesuit missionary, Thomas Stevens by name. In company with others of his order, he left Lisbon in a Portuguese ship on the 4th of April, 1579. "The setting forth from the port," he said, in a lively letter to his father, "I need not to tell how solemn. It is with trumpets and shooting of ordnance. You may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the manner of war." Off the coast of Africa the voyagers met an English ship, "very fair and great," that offered some fight, but was soon driven back by a broadside from the Portuguese galley, which after that met with no resistance, save from the elements, during the rest of her six months' voyage. Near the equator she was becalmed for a long time. "Some-

times," said Stevens, "the ship standeth there almost by the space of many days; sometimes she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still."

In the Gulf of Guinea Stevens had some amusement in watching the Medusa, or Portuguese man-of-war, as the sailors still call it. "Along all that coast," he says, "we oftentimes saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cock's comb, but the colour much fairer; which comb standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bigness, and beareth underneath, in the water, strings, which save it from turning over." He was also delighted with the sea-birds which met the galley as it neared the Cape of Good Hope. "As good as three thousand fowls of sundry kinds followed our ship; some of them so great that their wings, being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spans, as the mariners said;—a marvellous thing to see how God provided so that in so wide a sea these fowls are all fat, and nothing wanteth them." These were probably albatrosses. Stevens also saw sharks, pilot fish, and sucking-fish. "There waited on our ship fishes as long as a man. They came to eat such things as from the ship fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves; and if they find any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes, which never depart, with guards blue and green round about their bodies, like comely serving men; and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have

other fishes, which cleave always unto their body, and seem to take such superfluities as grow about them. The mariners in times past have eaten of them; but since they have seen them eat men, their stomachs abhor them. Nevertheless, they draw them up with great hooks, and kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge."

Stevens told his father more about the birds and fishes that came in his way during his voyage than about the people whom he saw at its termination, when he reached Goa on the 24th of October. "The people," he says, "be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moors and Caffres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, go naked, save an apron of a span long; and thus they think themselves as well clothed as we, with all our trimming." *

Stevens lived many years in India, and was able to be of good service to four other Englishmen, Fitch, Newberry, Leedes, and Storey, who made their way overland to Goa in 1583. They were sent thither by the Levant Company, and bore letters from Queen Elizabeth to the great Akbar and to the Emperor of China. They conveyed some cloth and tin, as samples of English commerce, from Aleppo to Bagdad, thence down the Tigris to Ormuz, and so by sea to Goa, where they arrived near the end of the year, to find it frequented by traders from all parts—"Frenchmen, Flemings, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, Arme-

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 99—101.

nians, Nazarenes, Turks, Moors, Jews and Gentiles, Persians and Muscovites," people of every nation except England, as Newberry reported.

These Englishmen, chiefly in consequence of the rude treatment which the Portuguese had lately received from Sir Francis Drake, were roughly handled by the masters of the European colony. Father Stevens and two other Jesuits, whom he interested on their behalf, were their only protectors. "Had it not pleased God," says Newberry, "to put into their minds to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison." But, with Stevens's help, they escaped with only a short captivity, and were able to extend their journey to many inland parts of India, to Ceylon, Malacca, and Pegu. Storey became a priest at Goa; Leedes entered the service of Akbar; Newberry died on his way home, in the Punjab; and Fitch travelled about till 1591, when he returned to England to write a full account of his adventures and observations, which had already, in brief reports, caused great stir in England, and were soon to encourage much more extensive action on the part of his countrymen in the way of Indian trade and travel. "Who ever heard," said Richard Hakluyt, "of Englishmen at Goa before now?"* Not long after that Englishmen were heard of very frequently, both in and out of Goa.

In October, 1589, a number of London merchants sought permission of Queen Elizabeth to send out three ships and two or three pinnaces on a voyage to India,

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part i., pp. 245—268.

there to seek out the ports best fitted for trade in English cloths and other wares, and to lay the foundations of future trade.* The project was approved, and on the 10th of April, 1591, the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure* left Plymouth with a view to its fulfilment. George Raymond was captain of the *Penelope*, and leader of the expedition. Abraham Kendal had charge of the *Merchant Royal*, and James Lancaster, the ablest seaman of the three, who seems to have had much practice in voyaging to the Spanish main and elsewhere, was captain of the *Edward Bonaventure*.

A month was occupied in sailing from England to Cape Verde Islands, and between the 13th of May and the 1st of June the ships were becalmed near the equator. In that neighbourhood they captured a Portuguese caravel, well stored with wine, oil, olives, and, according to the report of one of the voyagers, "divers other necessaries fit for our voyage, which were better to us than gold." At that time, however, began the misfortunes that attended the expedition through nearly all the rest of its course. Great tornadoes and bad weather of all sorts harassed the fleet, and produced much sickness among its crews. The ships, instead of proceeding in a straight line to the south of Africa, sailed in a curve past the coast of Brazil, and did not reach the Cape of Good Hope till the 28th of July. There they were troubled with contrary winds and currents, which, as well as the prevalence of scurvy

* BRUCE, *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i., p. 109.

and other diseases among the sailors, made it necessary that they should put in at Saldanha Bay. There they waited for six weeks. At first great difficulty was experienced in procuring the fresh meat of which the voyagers were sadly in need. They had to content themselves with such shore-birds as they could kill, with mussels and other shell-fish; but afterwards they had dealings with the "black savages, very brutish," who brought their cattle for sale, and gladly disposed of as many as the Englishmen required for very small payment. The usual price of an ox was two knives, and a large sheep was valued at one.

But this cheap food does not seem to have been of much service. Early in September Raymond had to send home the *Merchant Royal* with fifty invalids on board. The *Penelope*, with a hundred and one men, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, with ninety-seven, proceeded on their voyage. The Cape of Good Hope was safely passed; but soon after that, on the 14th of September, there arose a violent storm, by which the *Penelope* was wrecked, or at any rate parted from Lancaster's ship, never to be heard of afterwards.

Thus Captain Lancaster and the crew of the *Edward Bonaventure* were left sole representatives of the goodly company sent out from England five months before. They, too, were very nearly wrecked by another terrible storm which came upon them on the 18th of September. Four men were killed by lightning, and nearly all the others were more or less injured. The mainmast of the *Edward Bonaventure* was split and much other damage

was done. The mischief was sufficiently repaired, however, for Lancaster to make a passage along the southwestern coast of Africa and through Mozambique Channel, despoiling three or four local trading vessels of their very serviceable cargoes of provisions on his way up to Comoro Island. Halting there he found it "exceeding full of people of tawny colour and good stature, but very treacherous and diligently to be taken heed of." The treachery does not seem to have been exhibited until it was provoked by the bad conduct of the English. Sixteen of the crew of the *Edward Bonaventure* went on shore on three separate occasions, were well treated by the natives, and provided with the fresh water which they were specially sent to obtain. After that, William Mace, the master of the vessel, and thirty others, much against Lancaster's wishes, crowded into the only boat that they had and again went on shore. Their object was only idle curiosity, and they gave such offence to the people of the island that they were all of them murdered within sight of their comrades, who, having no other boat, were unable to go to their assistance.

Leaving Comoro, Lancaster and his scanty crew proceeded to Zanzibar, which they reached near the end of November. There they rested for nearly three months. They strengthened their shattered vessel, built a new boat, and did all else that was possible towards preparing for further voyaging towards India. They prudently kept aloof from the Portuguese, who had a small factory in Zanzibar, and made friends of

the natives, who, like all the other people of those parts, are called Moors by the chronicler of the expedition. "The Moors," he says, "informed us of the false and spiteful dealing of the Portuguese towards us, which made them believe that we were cruel people and men-eaters, and wished them, if they loved their safety, in no case to come near us." Captain Lancaster produced a better impression, and, in the course of his friendly intercourse with the people, received from them good supplies of food before parting with them on the 15th of February, 1592. Even the Portuguese looked upon him, from a distance, with some respect. Just before he set sail they sent a negro to ask him for some wine, oil, and gunpowder, of which they stood in need. Lancaster gave them what they asked for, but kept the negro, who, being well acquainted with the Portuguese settlements, and a fair linguist to boot, proved a very useful servant during the next nine or ten months.

In those nine or ten months Lancaster met with a wonderful combination of troubles and good fortune. He intended to sail direct to Cape Comorin, and there, or among the Maldivé Islands, to lie in wait for passing vessels laden with Portuguese or Spanish treasures, on which he might with advantage exercise his privateering skill. Contrary winds and currents, however, drove him much farther north than he had planned, and he therefore first visited Socotra, where, says the historian, "we never wanted abundance of dolphins, bonitoes, and flying-fish." Cape Comorin was doubled in May, and

then Lancaster deemed it advisable to sail on at once through the Straits of Malacca into the China Sea. He anchored off Pulo Panjang early in June, and there the sickness of his men, too few when they were well properly to navigate the vessel, caused him to lie idle for more than two months. At the end of August he found that in Pulo Panjang "the refreshing was very small." Scanty food and bad climate had killed twenty-six of the men who had escaped with him from Cape storms and the murderous purpose of the natives of Comoro. Only thirty-three men and a boy were left, and of these eleven were invalids, and no more than seven or eight were efficient sailors.

Even with this small crew, however, Lancaster was able, in the Straits of Malacca, to attack three little Portuguese ships, conveying pepper and other articles to Pegu, and to capture one of them. Another Pegu ship was also captured a few days afterwards, but, its cargo being of slight value, it was released. The food taken in the first prize proved very serviceable to the weary and half-starved men of the *Edward Bonaventure*. At the end of ten days they were all described as "lusty," and Lancaster was able, as he passed through the Straits of Malacca, to seize two other Portuguese vessels, well stored with spices, rice, and other commodities, useful either for consumption or for sale. He stayed at Malacca till the 1st of October, on which day he captured a far more valuable prize than any of the previous ones. This was a great galleon, of 700 tons burthen, laden with wine, brass, haberdashery wares,

and the like, newly brought from Portugal or Spain. The crew of this vessel all escaped in boats as soon as it was captured, and it was therefore left to founder at sea after the most valuable part of its cargo had been transferred to the *Edward Bonaventure*. Lancaster proudly cruised about until the 3rd of December, when he reached the eastern side of Ceylon, and proceeded to Point de Galle, there intending to lie in wait for other prizes.

At Point de Galle his exploits in the East Indian waters came to a close. Lancaster himself, though so ill that he seemed "more like to die than to live," was willing to carry on the privateering work through another year. But his crew were tired of it. They had already been twenty months absent from England, and of the three hundred men or so who had started on the voyage only about a tenth part remained. They refused to continue it any longer than could be helped, and insisted upon being taken home. Lancaster was forced to comply with their request, and therefore, on the 8th of December, he started for the Cape of Good Hope, which, after four or five weeks' waiting in Algoa Bay, was doubled about the middle of February, 1593. At Saint Helena the voyagers halted on the 3rd of April, and enjoyed its fruits and game during nineteen days. There they found one of the men who had been ordered home in the *Merchant Royal*, and who, left by some accident on the island, had been leading a Robinson Crusoe life for a year and a half. "At our coming," says one of the chroniclers, "we found him as fresh in

colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in mind and half out of his wits, as afterwards we perceived; for whether he were put in fright of us, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden joy when he understood we were his old consorts and countrymen, he became idle-headed, and for eight days' space neither night nor day took any natural rest, and so at length died for lack of sleep."

From Saint Helena Lancaster attempted to sail direct for England. But his ship was becalmed for five weeks a little to the north of the equator, and thereby the old mutinous spirit of the crew was aroused. At starting each man had received his allowance of provisions for the homeward voyage. Some, with feasting and drinking, nearly used up their allowance in the course of the five weeks, and their jealousy of their more prudent comrades led to discontent among them all and gave great trouble to Lancaster. Judging it impossible to go home with such a crew, and without fresh supplies of food, he determined to sail westward in the direction of Trinidad, from which he was not very far distant. This he did, but missing Trinidad, he entered the Gulf of Paria and was there very nearly shipwrecked. For five months he and his discontented comrades, in their worn-out vessel, wandered about in the Caribbean Sea and among the West Indian islands. They dared not seek help from the Spaniards, and could barely pick up food enough to keep them alive from day to day. At length, on the 20th of November, they landed at the little

island of Mona, between San Domingo and Porto Rico. There they had previously been kindly entertained, and they hoped now to obtain food enough to last them on their homeward voyage. Lancaster and eighteen men, all but the six or eight who were needed to look after the vessel, spent a few days in the forlorn search. Having brought together all the provisions they could find, they went down to the shore, intending to return to the *Edward Bonaventure*. But while they were waiting for the sea to be quiet enough for their little boat to traverse it, they saw the vessel sail off, to be seen no more. The food they had collected did not last them for many days, and then they had to keep themselves alive on boiled weeds, "and now and then a pumpkin." Twenty-nine days were spent in this dismal way. At the end of that time a French ship fortunately put in at Mona. Seven of the Englishmen, wandering about on another part of the island, could not be found; but Lancaster and eleven others were taken on board by the French vessel and conveyed to San Domingo, thence to be brought to England, on the 24th of May, 1594, by way of Dieppe.*

Lancaster had been more than three years at sea, and in the expedition much money and more than two hundred lives had been lost. But these losses were thought little of in comparison with the report brought home concerning the wealth of the East Indies

* The foregoing details are from an account by Edmund Barker, lieutenant of the *Edward Bonaventure*, in HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 102—110. A somewhat different report, by Henry May, purser, is in PURCHAS, vol. i., p. 110.

and the ease with which the Spanish and Portuguese could be discomfited by English privateers. A kindred and yet more unfortunate expedition was fitted out in July, 1596, at the instigation of Sir Robert Dudley, when three ships, the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*, left England under the command of Captain Benjamin Wood. Two years afterwards they captured two Portuguese vessels on their way from Goa to China; and they seem to have carried on a prosperous piracy for some time in Indian and Chinese waters, but neither the ships nor any of their crews ever returned to England.*

The English merchants, however, were not deterred by these misfortunes from their purpose of boldly competing with the Portuguese and Spaniards in their prosperous eastern trade. They determined that, where others had so notably succeeded, they too would force their way to success. Fresh strength also came to this determination from the bold efforts made at the same time by the Dutch in rivalry with Portugal.

In these efforts, destined, when the Portuguese were virtually driven out of India, to issue in long jealousy and contest between Dutch and English trading companies, Englishmen had much to do. In the spring of 1598, Captain John Davis, the great Arctic navigator, went as pilot-major with the first trading or piratical fleet equipped by the Netherlands. Thereby he was

* PURCHAS, vol. i., pp. 110—113; SAINSBURY, *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, vol. i., pp. 98, 99.

made personally acquainted with the long and perilous route by way of the Cape of Good Hope to the Indies, and with the great opportunities of wealth which it afforded. He shared in the taking of some Portuguese prizes, and, coming home in July, 1600, did much to encourage his countrymen in prosecuting the work of East Indian trade and conquest.*

That work was soon entered upon in good earnest. A famous meeting of London merchants was held on

* PURCHAS, vol. i., pp. 116—124. The curious adventures of William Adams, who, in June, 1598, went as pilot-major to a fleet of five Dutch ships equipped for the Indies, are tolerably well known. The ships passed through the Straits of Magellan, which they did not reach till the 6th of April, 1599. There, says Adams, "with cold on the one side and hunger on the other, our men grew weak;" and there they halted till the 24th of September, seeking food with such poor success that great numbers died of hunger. They visited Chili, and there had some comfort, though they were prevented, by fear of the Spaniards, from staying as long as they wished. A few weeks afterwards, however, having shaped their course for the East Indies, they were nearly all murdered at some island in the Pacific Ocean. The survivors proceeded in two ships to Japan, and reached it on the 19th of April, 1600, "at which time," says Adams, "there were no more than six, besides myself, that could stand upon his feet." The crew then numbered twenty-four, of whom six died soon afterwards. Adams was summoned to the Emperor's presence, and put in prison for a few weeks at the instigation of "the Portuguese and Jesuits;" but ultimately he rose high in favour with the Emperor, for whom he built a ship, of 80 tons burthen, after the English fashion. "He, coming aboard to see it, liked it very well; by which means I came in more favour with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at length a yearly stipend to live upon, much about seventy ducats, by the year, with two pounds of rice a day." He taught the Emperor mathematics and other things, and built other ships, in which he traded about. In 1611 he wrote a letter to his "unknown friends and countrymen," which was transmitted to the East India Company, and led to some attempt by the English, under James I., at trade with Japan.—RUNDALL, *Memorials of the Empire of Japan* (Hakluyt Society), pp. 18—32.

the 24th of September, 1599. It was there resolved to apply to Queen Elizabeth for permission, “for the honour of our native country, and for the advancement of trade of merchandize within this realm of England, to set forth a voyage this present year to the East Indies and the islands and countries thereabouts;” and in proof that they were in earnest, a sum of 30,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was at once subscribed by a hundred and thirty-one influential Londoners, headed by Sir Stephen Soame, the Lord Mayor, and including nearly all the foremost merchants of the day, Baptist Hicks, Richard Staper, Richard Cockayne, and the Garways, among the number.* On the 10th of October the merchants were informed that the Queen had graciously accepted their proposal. That was the beginning of the East India Company, and great preparations were promptly made for carrying out the enterprise. Just then, however, there was talk of a peace between England and Spain, and the Privy Council decided that it was better to run no risk of hindering the negotiations for peace by sanctioning the immediate carrying out of the merchants’ project.† Therefore the project was delayed for a year, the year being well spent in collecting information and laying plans for future action. In the summer of 1600, a fresh petition was addressed to the Queen, and in answer to that, the merchants were commanded by her “to proceed in their purpose and accept of her certificate as an earnest of a further warrant to be after-

* SAINSBURY, vol. i., pp. 99—101; BRUCE, vol. i., pp. 111—113.

† BRUCE, vol. i., p. 114.

wards granted to them.”* The further warrant appeared in a charter of incorporation of “The East India Company, by the name of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies,” with two hundred and fifteen members. This charter was dated the 31st of December, 1600.†

In anticipation of that formal document, all things had been put in readiness for the great work to be entered upon. Sir Thomas Smythe had been chosen first Governor of the Company. Court influence had been used for the appointment of Sir Edward Michelborne as admiral of the fleet to be sent out; but the merchants had wisely decided to have nothing to do with courtiers, and had asked for leave “to sort their business with men of their own quality.” The result was the appointment of Captain James Lancaster to the coveted post, with Captain John Davis as pilot-major and second in command. Like wisdom had been shown in the appointment of factors and deputies, the buying of ships and provisions and other necessary preparations, not the least being the selection of Richard Hakluyt as geographical adviser of the Company and “historiographer of the voyages to the East Indies.”‡

All things were prepared for the first voyage by

* BRUCE, vol. i., p. 126.

† PURCHAS, vol. i., pp. 139—147.

‡ SAINSBURY, vol. i., pp. 106—115. The terms made with Davis will illustrate the method usually pursued by the old East India Company, which generally made partners of all its principal servants. He received 300*l.* before starting, and was promised 500*l.* more if the profits of the voyage were 100 per cent.; 1000*l.* if they were 150 per cent.; 1500*l.* if they were 200 per cent.; and 2000*l.* if they were 250 per cent. or upwards.

the 20th of April, 1601. On that day four stout ships, the *Dragon*, of 600 tons burthen, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and the *Susan*, sailed from Torbay under the leadership of Captain Lancaster. He took with him several copies of a letter addressed by Queen Elizabeth to "the great and mighty King of ———, our loving brother, greeting," with instructions to fill in the blanks and present one to each monarch whom he visited. In these letters Queen Elizabeth represented that, God having ordained that no place should enjoy all the things appertaining to man's use, but that one country should have need of another, and that thus men of remote districts should have commerce one with another, and by their interchange of commodities be linked together in friendship, she had sent out these her subjects to visit the territories of the east and offer commerce according to the usage of merchants. She promised that her merchants should conduct themselves in a better way than had been followed by those of Spain and Portugal, who vaunted themselves to be kings of the East Indies. Therefore she requested that her people might be kindly entertained, and that while some of them were allowed to bring home a report of their discoveries and negotiations, others might be permitted to remain in each king's territory, there to learn the language, and direct themselves according to the fashions of the country.*

Lancaster's whole company numbered four hundred and eighty men. After sailing comfortably down to

* BRUCE, vol. i., pp. 147—150.

the neighbourhood of the equator, he was there, as was usual, becalmed for some weeks. On the 21st of June, however, he fell in with a Portuguese vessel, which was soon caught and despoiled of a goodly store of wine, oil, and meal. Much sickness befel the crews as they sailed slowly towards the Cape, and Lancaster was obliged to put in at Saldanha Bay early in August. There he built huts for the sick, and conversed with the people in "the cattle's tongue, which was never changed at the confusion of Babel," that is, shouted *moo* and *baa*, to show that he wanted to buy cows and sheep. Keeping on good terms with the Caffres, and to that end issuing strict orders to his men, he procured more than a thousand sheep and forty or fifty oxen, a piece of iron six inches long being the price paid for each of the former, and one eight inches long for each of the latter. The Caffres were anxious to sell him land as well, and to induce him to settle among them; but two months' careful management served to restore the sick men to health, and on the 29th of October he put to sea again. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled on the 1st of November, and the stormy seas to the east of it were traversed without damage. Fresh sickness among the crews made necessary another and longer delay, apparently on the coast of Madagascar, the waiting time being well employed in the construction of a little pin-nace, which proved very useful as a pioneer during the rest of the voyage. Halting at an island near Sumatra, Lancaster saw what he supposed to be a religious service of the natives, in which the priests, wearing horns and

tails like devils, appeared to be worshipping the prince of the devils. He is also reported to have seen a wonderful tree, growing from a worm which gradually dies as the tree grows, the branches of the tree itself, when cut off and dried, being turned into white coral.

Sumatra was reached on the 2nd of June, 1602, more than thirteen months after the departure from England. On the 5th, Lancaster entered the Road of Acheen, and there found sixteen or eighteen ships of various nations. Two Dutch merchants came on board the *Dragon*, and told him that he was sure of a hearty welcome from the King of Acheen, who had heard of the English victories over the Spaniards. Therefore John Middleton, the captain of the *Hector*, was sent with a friendly message to the King. He was generously received, and two days afterwards Lancaster himself went to Court, accompanied by a guard of honour, including six elephants, that had been sent to receive him. He delivered a copy of the Queen's letter with which he had been provided, also a present of a silver basin and cup, some looking-glasses, and other articles. He was sumptuously entertained at a feast in which all the dishes used were of gold or other costly metal, and after the feast, as a great honour, the King's dancing-women came to entertain him. He made a treaty with this friendly monarch, who therein allowed English merchants to settle in his territory, to trade with his subjects and other natives, and to observe their own laws and customs. That done, the merchants who had come out with Lancaster immediately proceeded to buy

pepper, which was the chief produce of Acheen. On Lancaster himself other work devolved in over-reaching the treachery of the Portuguese. He heard from an Indian slave that the Portuguese were arranging for the bringing of a sufficient number of ships from their large settlement in Malacca to destroy the English fleet, and, by using the Indian as a spy, he was able to learn all the movements of his enemies and to make preparations for checkmating them. The King of Acheen, when informed of this state of affairs, told Lancaster that the Spaniards and Portuguese were as hateful to him as they could be to the English, and promised to help him to the utmost of his power. With his assistance, the Portuguese were prevented from carrying out their treacherous project; and on the 7th of September, Lancaster was able safely to sail towards Malacca, and in its neighbourhood to capture a Portuguese vessel, and appropriate all the costly merchandize that he found on board. He cruised about for six weeks, and returned to Acheen on the 24th of October. There he renewed his friendship with the King and received from him a courteous letter to Queen Elizabeth. He also took on board the merchants whom he had left to carry on their trade, and all the pepper, cloves, and cinnamon which they had collected during his absence.

Leaving Acheen on the 9th of November, Lancaster sent the *Ascension* home, with a report of his achievements, and went with the other ships along the southwestern side of Sumatra to the Straits of Sunda and

Java. In that neighbourhood the *Susan* received a full cargo of pepper and cloves, bought at a much lower price than was charged at Acheen, and was also sent with it direct to England.

On the 6th of December Lancaster reached Bantam. He had a friendly interview with its boy King and his "protector," to whom one of the Queen's letters was given, leading to an alliance for trade and mutual assistance. The English merchants brought their goods ashore, and sold great quantities both to the King, who by law had the first choice of everything that came into the country, and to his subjects. In return they bought an abundance of pepper. Some of the natives proved thievish; but Lancaster was authorized to kill any one he might find about his house at night time; and, it is said, "after thus killing four or five they lived in peace." Enough pepper to fill both the remaining ships was collected by the 10th of February, 1603. All the English goods that remained in them were transferred to the pinnace that had been built during the voyage out, and it was entrusted to twelve sailors and some merchants, with orders to visit the Moluccas, and, if possible, to establish there a trading settlement. A dozen merchants were also left at Bantam; and then Lancaster started on his homeward voyage on the 20th of February.

This was performed with hardly greater trouble than was usual in those times. A furious storm assailed the ships in the Straits of Sunda, and did damage which could never be repaired; and two months afterwards,

when they were near the Cape of Good Hope, another storm almost wrecked the *Dragon*. Her rudder was lost, and, after vainly attempting to fix another, or some substitute for another, Lancaster thought his case so desperate that he proposed to send home the *Hector* alone, and, in the *Dragon*, either to follow more at leisure or to try and find some resting-place at which the mischief might be retrieved. The men of the *Hector*, however, refused to desert their brave admiral, and so the ships pushed slowly on together, a mast being hung from the keel of the *Dragon* in place of the lost rudder. After much beating about the Cape of Good Hope was passed, and the troubles of the voyagers were brought to an end. They halted at St. Helena, and there made a new rudder, besides remedying some other injuries. They entered the English Channel, and completed their expedition, which had occupied nearly two years and a half, on the 11th of September, 1603.*

By his successful management of this voyage Captain Lancaster made a memorable beginning to the famous career of the East India Company. The pepper and spices that he brought home realized profits enough to satisfy the merchants who had sent him out, and encouraged them to set forth other expeditions, some of them disastrous, but all conducing to the ultimate prosperity of the Company. The treaties of trade and alliance made by Lancaster with the Kings of Acheen and Bantam

* The foregoing account of Lancaster's voyage is derived from the narrative in PURCHAS, vol. i., pp. 147—164.

led the way to other treaties, issuing in the establishment of our great Indian empire. Lancaster himself lived on for nearly thirty years, adding to his fame as a brave sea-captain much useful service as a stay-at-home adviser. But the sequel to his personal history, and the achievements of the East India Company after this first successful enterprise, do not belong to the story of English seamanship under the Tudors. Therefore we have not here to deal with them.

During its brief three years' existence under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, however, the East India Company did some other memorable work. Lancaster had only been gone a few months on his south-eastern voyage to the Indies when, in July, 1601, George Waymouth, who is described as "a navigator," though we are not told of what sort were his navigations, wrote a letter to the Company, urging the importance of making another attempt to reach the Indies by a north-west passage.

The project was well entertained, and arrangements were promptly entered upon for carrying it out. In September it was determined that 3,000*l.* should be spent in fitting out two pinnaces, with about thirty men between them. To Waymouth 100*l.* were granted to be expended on instruments and other necessaries; and it was agreed that if he found the passage he should have 5,000*l.* in payment. He was so sure of success that he asked for no remuneration in the event of his failure. The right of searching for Cathay by northern voyaging having long before been assigned to the Muscovy

Company, a message was sent to its Directors, asking them to transfer their privileges to the new association. This the Muscovy Company at first refused to do. It also refused to conduct the enterprise in partnership with the East India Company, and announced its intention of undertaking the voyage itself, without specifying any time for the enterprise or giving any token of immediate action. At a meeting of the East India Company Directors in November it was agreed that "an enterprise of such importance should not be slacked;" and a fresh message was sent to the Muscovy Company to the effect that if it would really take the work in hand it should be left to do it in its own way, or that the East India adventurers were still willing to enter upon it in conjunction with the Muscovy traders; but that, if the Muscovy traders refused either of these plans, an appeal would be made to the Privy Council. That threat was enforced, and the Muscovy Company was in December ordered by the Queen to take its part in the projected voyage. It appears to have been still obstinate, and to have transferred its privileges to the rival association.

This, however, gave no annoyance to the East India Company. Its object was gained, and the few following months of winter were spent in completing the preparations that had been begun in the summer. On the 10th of April, 1602, the formal articles of agreement with Waymouth were signed; and on the 24th John Cartwright, a London preacher, who had already travelled in Persia, and written an account of his jour-

ney,* was chosen to go with Waymouth as his chief adviser. All the preparations were completed by the end of April, and the East India Company was in “great hope that there is a possibility of discovery of a nearer passage into the East Indies, by seas by the way of the north-west, if the same be undertaken by a man of knowledge in navigation, and of a resolution to put in execution all possibility of industry and valour for the attaining of so inestimable benefit to his native country and his own perpetual honour.”† Perhaps Waymouth was such a man; but the work to which he applied himself, almost sure to have failed in any case, was brought to premature failure by his chief adviser, John Cartwright, and his inefficient crew.

With two little vessels, the *Discovery*, of 70 tons burthen, and the *Godspeed*, of 60 tons burthen, victualled for sixteen months, and having thirty-five men and boys on board, he started from Ratcliffe on the 2nd of May.‡ He was instructed “to sail towards the coast of Greenland, and pass on unto the seas by the north-west towards Cathay or China, without giving over proceeding on his course so long as he found any possibility to make a passage through those seas, and not to return for any let or impediment whatever until one year had been bestowed in attempting the passage.” He was, in fact, to avail himself of all the experience

* *The Preacher's Travels*, in OSBORNE's *Harleian Collection of Voyages*.

† The preceding account of the preparations for Waymouth's voyage are from SAENSBURY, vol. i., pp. 128—133.

‡ The following details are from Waymouth's *Journal* in PURCHAS, vol. iii., pp. 809—814.

attained by Davis fifteen years before, and to do his best in realizing the hopes which Davis, for want of support, had been forced to abandon. Had the work been entrusted to Davis himself, it might have had a different issue.

Following Davis's track Waymouth reached the north-western part of Greenland on the 18th of June. Thence he sailed almost due west, and on the 29th he had sight of the northern part of Frobisher's Meta Incognita, then generally known as Warwick's Foreland. It was covered with snow, and along the coast were snow-covered masses, of which no one could say whether they were icebergs or rocks. Waymouth attempted to enter Frobisher's Straits, judging that therein he would find the coveted north-western passage to India. But contrary winds kept him at sea during sixteen or seventeen days, which he spent in sailing up and down the neighbouring coast, and that short time sufficed to sicken his sailors of their arctic voyaging. They were all puzzled by the numerous islands that they saw dimly through the fogs that oppressed them, and by the conflicting currents, formed of melting ice, that pressed upon them with a force which, in the darkness, was especially alarming. They were sorely frightened, too, by the distant rumble and turmoil of cracking ice and shivering icebergs, and yet more by the intense cold which froze their sails, ropes, and tackling, so as to render them almost unmanageable. At length, on the 19th of July, says Waymouth, "all our men conspired secretly together to bear up the helm for Eng-

land while I was asleep in my cabin, and there to have kept me by force until I had sworn unto them that I would not offer any violence unto them for so doing." Waymouth woke up in time to prevent the full accomplishment of this mutinous purpose; but having all or nearly all his men in league against him, with John Cartwright, the parson, at their head, he was forced in the end to give way to them. They insisted upon being taken out of this icy region, alleging that their demand was "a matter builded upon reason, and not proceeding upon fear or cowardice." All Waymouth could do was to induce them to carry him in a southerly direction as far as the great channel discovered by Frobisher in 1578, but first properly explored by Henry Hudson in 1610. Waymouth entered Hudson's Straits on the 25th of July, and sailed along it for about three hundred miles. Then he was forced to turn back. He touched the coast of Labrador between the 5th and the 17th of August. On the 18th a violent storm nearly destroyed his ships, and the sailors thereupon obliged him to return at once to England. He reached Dartmouth on the 5th of September.

In the stringent inquiry which the East India Company instituted as to the cause of this unfortunate ending of Waymouth's expedition, it appears that Cartwright "did confess and justify that he was the persuader and mover of the company to return for England and give over the voyage." Waymouth was not blamed, and it was proposed that, in the following year, a new and better-manned voyage to Davis's

Straits should be intrusted to him.* But the proposals came to nothing. The East India Company found more profitable work in southern voyaging to India, after the plan initiated by Lancaster; and the task of arctic searching, in succession to John Davis, was left to Henry Hudson, in the reign of James I.

* SAINSBURY, vol. i., pp. 135—138.

END OF VOL. I.

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VOL. II.

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ENGLISH SEAMEN

UNDER

THE TUDORS.

BY

H. R. FOX BOURNE,

AUTHOR OF "A MEMOIR OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY," "ENGLISH MERCHANTS," ETC.

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**ENGLISH PIRACY, PRIVATEERING AND
OPEN WARFARE**

UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ENGLISH SEAMEN UNDER THE TUDORS.

CHAPTER XI.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S NAVY AND ITS EARLIER WORK.

[1558—1585.]

THE great achievements, under Queen Elizabeth, of the seamen who, following the lead of the Cabots, went out in small and ill-constructed vessels to contend with Arctic ice and fog in their search for a north-western passage to Cathay, and who, when they were worsted in that battle, turned aside to begin the colonization of America and the conquest of India, were wholly the result of private enterprise and of prowess which, though sanctioned by the Crown, looked for no reward that it could not win for itself. Private enterprise and prowess unaided by State authority, also, were motives to the famous series of sea-fights and naval expeditions by which England for the first time acquired a right to her proud title of mistress of the sea. The greatest heroes of Elizabeth's great navy, the men who made it possible for her, when the insolence of Catholic

Spain was at its height, to assure the stability of her own kingdom and the liberty of Protestant Europe by vanquishing the Invincible Armada, were private gentlemen and uncommissioned sailors, whose training had been in ways of which the State took no cognizance, or which it recognized chiefly to condemn.

During the thirty years preceding the Great Armada Fight, however, Queen Elizabeth's navy, though its work was insignificant in comparison with the work of men who had no rank in it, made steady progress. The progress resulted from the zeal with which were developed the principles of naval rule that had been adopted by King Henry VIII.

Henry, throughout his reign, had held the French and their allies the Scots at bay. Not satisfied with his possession of Calais, and with the opportunities it afforded for the annoyance of his great enemy, he had taken Boulogne in 1546, and had steadily defended his own realm from the designs of all invaders. But during the ten years following his death there was persistent squandering of the naval reputation that he had won for England. In the brief and unfortunate period of Edward VI.'s reign the royal navy was reduced to half its previous size; and under Mary's shorter and more disastrous sway its fame and influence were yet further diminished.

At the time of Henry's death the royal navy consisted of fifty-three vessels, large and small, with an aggregate burthen of 6,255 tons, and adapted for the employment of 5,136 sailors, 759 gunners, and 1,885

soldiers or strictly fighting-men, making a total, with about 200 officers, of nearly 8,000 men of all sorts. The largest of these was the *Henri Grace à Dieu*, of 1,000 tons' burthen. Two others, the *Peter* and the *Matthew*, were of 600 tons each; two were of 500 tons, four of 450, and three of 400. The rest were of smaller size, some being mere boats, bearing no more than 15 tons apiece.* The governors of Edward VI., inheriting this shipping, put it to a little use in aiding the land attack upon Scotland, which resulted in the battle of Pinkie. In 1547 Leith and most of the Scottish sea-ports were damaged; the Scottish fleet was routed, and great numbers of merchantmen and other small craft were destroyed.† But in 1548 the English fleet was not able to overthrow the shipping that awaited its return to Scottish waters; and after peace had been made with Scotland and France nothing more of any note was done during Edward's brief reign. At its close the royal ships had been reduced in number from fifty-three to forty-five, and of these only twenty-four were in condition for actual service. Ten, including the *Peter* and the *Matthew*, were in need of thorough repair, and the other eleven were only fit to be broken up and sold for old wood.‡

The sound ships were allowed to fall into decay, and

* CHARNOCK, *History of Marine Architecture*, vol. ii., pp. 49, 50. The *Henri Grace à Dieu* was evidently the same, built in 1514, which is described in vol. i., p. 70, and there shown to have been of 1,500 tons burthen. I am unable to explain the discrepancy.

† HOLLINSHED, vol. ii., pp. 990—995.

‡ BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Harleian*, No. 354, fols. 90b, 91.

the unsound ones to become perfectly useless during the unworthy reign of Queen Mary. Almost at its commencement, on the 26th of August, 1553, the *Henri Grace à Dieu*, which had been called the *Edward* under Edward VI., and had been re-christened by its older name on Mary's accession, was burnt at Woolwich, "by the negligence of the mariners;"* and, for any good use to which they were put, the others might also have been burnt. In 1557 Sir John Clere, Vice-Admiral of England, being sent with a fleet of twelve sail to annoy the Scots, was utterly defeated by them;† and in 1558 Lord Clinton, though his own fleet consisted of all the English fighting-ships that could be brought together, and of thirty Spanish vessels as well, was unable to do any serious injury to the French whom he was ordered to attack upon the coast of Brittany.‡ The only valorous act of this reign was done four years before by Lord High Admiral Howard, on the occasion of his being sent with twenty-eight ships to escort Philip of Spain on his coming to England to be made Mary's husband. Philip was attended by a hundred and sixty Spanish sail, with a Spanish flag floating from the topmast of their admiral's ship. At this Howard was so annoyed that he fired at it, and insisted upon the English colours being substituted before he would pay his respects to Philip, and conduct him into Southampton Harbour.§ That perhaps was

* HOLLINSHED, vol. ii., p. 1090.

† STRYPE, vol. iii., p. 429.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Mary*, vol. xii., No. 23; vol. xiii., No. 64; GRAFTON, p. 1364.

§ HOLLINSHED, vol. ii., p. 1118.

the first token of the English jealousy of Spain, which was to issue in very memorable consequences during the next fifty years.

Four years of civil misgovernment and of religious persecution sufficed to make the jealousy strong in the mind of every patriotic Englishman. Elizabeth on her accession found her people heartily disposed but quite unable to exercise it with good effect. Inheriting a kingdom wrecked and wasted in all its parts, the waste and wreck were nowhere more apparent than in her navy. The fate of the *Great Harry*, destroyed "by the negligence of the mariners," had been shared, with differences in the ignoble manner of destruction, by most of the best vessels that should have been preserved for the maintenance of English dignity upon the sea. Through a quarter of a century, harassed by show of friendship with Spain, and by more or less open feud with France and Scotland, Elizabeth had laboriously to bring back the naval strength of England to the condition in which it had been left by Henry VIII. This, and more, she did by prudent exercise of her own abilities, and by yet more prudent use of the abilities of counsellors and agents wiser than herself.

The counsellors in whom most she trusted, and who perhaps best merited her trust, were William and Charles Howard, son and grandson of Lord Thomas Howard, brother and successor, as Chief Admiral of England, of the excellent Sir Edward Howard, and Edward Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln.

Lord William Howard had been a special favourite

with Henry VIII. until the year 1541, when he shared in the disgrace that befel his niece, Queen Catherine Howard. For supposed complicity in her misconduct, he and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coity, in Glamorganshire, were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and to be mulcted of their personal property as well as of life interest in their landed estates. But Henry's appreciation of Howard's past services soon led to a remission of this punishment, and under the rule of Henry's three children Howard rose to great distinction. His early zeal in naval affairs appears in his encouragement of the famous enterprise by which Willoughby and Chancellor attempted, in 1553, to find a north-eastern passage to Cathay. He was one of the Company of Merchant Adventurers who fitted out that expedition, and after the expedition had failed, he continued to be a leading member of the Company. Very soon after Queen Mary's accession, on the 11th of March, 1554, he was made a peer of the realm as Lord Howard of Effingham; and on the 20th of the same month he was appointed High Admiral of England and Wales, Ireland, Gascony, and Aquitaine. On the 8th of April following, "in consideration of his fidelity, prudence, valour, and industry," Queen Mary made him "her lieutenant-general and chief commander of her whole fleet and royal army going to sea for the defence of her friends." He had not much to do, either for the defence of friends or for the punishment of foes, under Mary; but the temper in which he applied himself to his work appears in his reception of Philip, in

July, 1554, which has already been noticed. Yet he did all that he could, and, with the better opportunities that came on the accession of Elizabeth, he did better service until his death, on the 12th of January, 1572.*

His service, however, was only such as could be rendered by a vice-admiral, with great influence at Court and with a disposition to use his influence wisely. In the post of High Admiral he had been superseded in April, 1558, by Lord Edward Clinton,† who continued in office until his death, in 1585. It was then conferred upon Lord Charles Howard, and held by him for nearly forty years.

Lord Edward Clinton, who became Earl of Nottingham on the 4th of May, 1572,‡ was Queen Elizabeth's chief official adviser on naval matters during the first half of her reign ; but Cecil and all her great statesmen, Gresham and all her great merchants, shared in the advice, and, amid some blunders and follies, helped to make of the English navy a greater power than it had ever been before.

When Elizabeth became Queen, her navy was not considered strong enough to protect the narrow seas against the French, with whom she found herself at war. She had only been three days crowned when, on the 21st of November, 1558, she issued instructions for the bringing together and putting in order of all available ships, and, in order that there might be no lack of

* COLLINS, *Peerage* (1812), vol. iv., pp. 264—267; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, *passim*.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Mary*, vol. xii., No. 69.

‡ *Ibid.*, *Elizabeth*, vol. lxxxvi., No. 35.

mariners, for preventing any one from leaving the kingdom without a license ; and these orders were so strictly enforced, that a message had before long to be sent to the Warden of the Cinque Ports, reminding him that the Queen did not wish to imprison all her subjects, but only to have choice of those best fitted to serve her.* In like manner, arrangements were at once made for the fortifying of Dover, Portsmouth, and other defensive standpoints;† and during the ensuing years, every sort of care was taken for enabling the country to withstand any attack that might be made upon it. Elizabeth employed Sir Thomas Gresham in smuggling from Antwerp and other continental towns great quantities of the arms and ammunition in which England was very deficient, and did better in encouraging their manufacture at home. “Very many pieces of great ordnance of brass and iron she cast,” says the oldest historian of her reign ; “and God, as if He favoured what she undertook, discovered a most rich vein of pure and native brass, which had been a long time neglected, near Keswick, in Cumberland, which abundantly sufficed for that use. And she also was the first that procured gunpowder to be made in England, that she might not both pray and pay for it to her neighbours.”‡

One curious expedient for aiding the naval improvement of England was adopted at the instigation of Sir William Cecil. With the renunciation of Popery and

* STRYPE, *Annals*, vol. i., p. 6 ; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. iv., No. 9.

† CAMPBELL, vol. i., p. 341.

‡ CAMDEN, *Annals*, p. 56.

Popish fasts, had come a great falling off in the consumption of fish; and, as it was chiefly from the class of fishermen that sailors were recruited, Cecil feared that there would soon be a scarcity of competent mariners. "To build ships without men to man them," he said, "was to set armour upon stakes on the sea shore;" but, except in "the exercise of piracy, which could not last," he saw no chance of obtaining enough men for the ships unless something were done to improve the fisheries.* Therefore, in 1563, an Act of Parliament was passed forbidding the eating of any flesh on Fridays and Saturdays, and of more than half the usual allowance on Wednesdays, with the provision, however, that, "lest any person should misjudge the intent of the statute, which was politicly meant only for the increase of fishermen and mariners and not for any superstition for choice of meats, whoever should preach or teach that eating of fish or forbearing of flesh was for the saving of the soul of man or for the service of God should be punished as the spreader of false news."†

This law was of course inoperative. But, if fewer sailors came to be obtained from the class of fishermen, the deficiency was more than met in other ways. By raising the wages of her seamen, Elizabeth found that she could always obtain as many as she wanted; and such an ardent love of sea adventures was growing up among all ranks of her subjects, that without any inducements in the way of pay, she would have had plenty of recruits.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. xli., No. 58.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii., Nos. 71, 72.

Every year new ships were built for her ; and there was never any trouble about manning them. "The wealthier inhabitants of the sea coast," also, as we are told, "in imitation of their princess, built ships of war, striving who should exceed ; insomuch that the Queen's navy, joined with her subjects' shipping, was in short time so puissant, that it was able to bring forth 20,000 fighting-men for sea service."*

In 1578, however, after twenty years of steady growth, Queen Elizabeth's navy appears to have comprised only twenty-four ships, with officers, mariners, fighting-men or soldiers, and gunners numbering in all about 7,000 ; being less than half the number of ships that were available at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, and with fewer officers and men by a seventh. These twenty-four vessels were the *Triumph*, of 1,000 tons' burthen ; the *Elizabeth* and the *White Bear*, each of 900 tons ; the *Victory* and the *Primrose*, each of 800 tons ; the *Mary Rose*, the *Hope*, the *Bonaventure*, the *Philip and Mary*, and the *Lion*, each of 600 tons ; the *Dreadnought* and the *Swiftsure*, each of 400 tons ; the *Swallow*, the *Antelope*, and the *Jeanet*, each of 350 tons ; the *Foresight*, of 300 tons ; the *Aid*, of 240 tons ; the *Bull* and the *Tiger*, of 160 tons ; the *Falcon*, of about 100 tons ; the *Achates* and the *Handmaid*, of 80 tons ; the *Bark of Boulogne* and the *George*, of 60 tons.†

* CAMDEN, p. 56.

† CAMPBELL, vol. i., pp. 355—358. Numerous documents, showing the gradual growth of the navy, are among the RECORD OFFICE MSS. By vol. iii., No. 44 of that series, it appears that in March, 1559, Elizabeth had twenty-one fighting vessels ; but many of these were mere

But the changes wrought in the English navy under Queen Elizabeth are only faintly indicated by statistics. Scientific shipbuilding was still in its infancy; but, during this reign, the previous methods were very much improved upon. "Whoever were the inventors," said Sir Walter Raleigh, "we find that every age has added somewhat to ships; and in my time the shape of our English ships has been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the topmasts, a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea and in the harbour, hath been devised, together with the chain-pump, which taketh up twice as much water as the ordinary one did. We have lately added the bonnet and the drabler to the courses; we have added studding-sails, and the weighing anchor by the capstan. We have fallen into consideration of the length of cables, and by it we resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow. For true it is, that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities; and the reason is, that it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship riding at that length is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretched."*

These and other improvements appear to have been adopted chiefly at the instigation of Sir John Hawkins, who succeeded his father-in-law, Benjamin Gonson, as

boats, and the five largest were respectively of but 800, 700, 600, 500, and 400 tons burthen. Against that aggregate of 3,000 tons for five ships must be set the aggregate of 8,200 tons for the twelve ships of 400 tons or over in 1578.

* Cited in BELL's continuation of SOUTHEY, *British Admirals*, vol. v., p. 203.

Treasurer or Comptroller of the Navy. Gonson held that office from 1557 till his death in 1578, when it was entrusted to Hawkins, who was perhaps, by reason of his great shrewdness and great experience, the fittest man in all England to be employed as overseer and reformer in all affairs of shipping.* “He was the first,” we are told, “that invented the cunning stratagem of false nettings for ships to fight in; and also, in the first year of the Queen, in the wars of France, he devised the chain-pumps for ships, and perfected many defects in the Navy Royal.”† The share taken by Hawkins, in conjunction with Sir Francis Drake, in founding the Chest at Chatham, a fund formed of voluntary contributions from prosperous seamen on behalf of their less fortunate brethren,‡ gives evidence of his interest in the welfare of the mariners; and he was no less zealous in seeing that mariners and their captains honestly served their employers, whether those employers were the Queen's ministers, gentlemen-adventurers, or merchants.§

As Treasurer or Comptroller, Sir John Hawkins had to see to the building of new ships, the repairing of old ones, and the fitting out, victualling, and manning of both old and new; in fact, to do everything that was necessary for the preservation and improvement of the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Mary*, vol. x., No. 2; *Elizabeth*, vol. cxxvii., No. 33.

† STOW, *Annals* (1616), p. 806.

‡ CAMPBELL, vol. i., p. 421.

§ SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, *Observations in his Voyage into the South Sea in 1593* (Hakluyt Society, 1847., p. 167.

navy.* An annual allowance of 5,714*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* was assigned for all these services; but this amount appears to have been every year greatly exceeded, sometimes more than doubled.

With the armament of the navy, Sir John Hawkins had not much to do. This important business was performed, through the greater part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by Sir William Winter, who was the last Master of the Ordnance of the Navy, the oversight of ships' artillery being afterwards combined with supervision of land ordnance.† The business was certainly as complicated as it was important. About two dozen different kinds of fighting implements were employed in Queen Elizabeth's ships. The cannon generally measured twelve feet, and weighed four tons. The demi-cannon was about a foot longer and a ton lighter. The culverin and demi-culverin were nearly as long, but very much lighter, being adapted for discharging smaller shot. These four were the great ordnance. Sakers, minions, falcons, and falconets were much smaller; and the smallest pieces of ordnance were the fowlers and murdering pieces, generally mounted on the forecastle. Then there were hand-guns; the harquebus, which was generally placed on a rest before aim was taken; the musket, lighter and shorter than the harquebus; and the caliver, which was still less. With these twelve weapons, powder and shot were used. Of more than a dozen miscellaneous and more old-fashioned instru-

* See MONSON'S *Naval Tracts*, book iii.

† Continuation of SOUTHEY, vol. v., pp. 207, 208.

ments, the principal were of course swords and bucklers, bills, pikes, and spears. The musket-arrow, thought much of by Sir John Hawkins, was a very short dart, discharged by a sort of catapult ; and fire-arrows were discharged in the same manner. There were also several appliances for shooting "brass balls of artificial fire," which seem to have been miniature bombs, Greek fire, and the like.*

For nearly thirty years Queen Elizabeth's navy, in its relations with foreign powers, at any rate, was chiefly passive. It was absolutely necessary that England should have sufficient force upon the sea to be able to withstand the attacks that were always threatening from France and Spain. But Elizabeth and her wise counsellors abstained as much as possible from actual war. With a few exceptions, the fighting ships, previous to the coming of the Spanish Armada, were occupied chiefly in guarding the coasts and in punishing pirates.

The first exception was in the second year of Elizabeth's reign. Peace with France had been declared in April, 1559 ; but it was a declaration that deceived no one in England and caused no cessation to French mischief-making in Scotland. An army in disguise was straightway organised in France to be employed in punishing Scottish Protestantism and strengthening the House of Valois in its government of the House of Stuart. Therefore, late in December, a fleet of fourteen ships, the largest that could be brought together, was sent from Gillingham, under Admiral William

* RUNDALL, *Narratives of Voyages to the North-West*, pp. 229—231.

Winter, with orders to proceed first to Berwick and then to the Frith of Forth, there to intercept the French convoys and cause them as much damage as possible. "The principal point in his service," as defined in the instructions issued to Winter, was "to impeach the access of any more succour from France into Scotland, and to facilitate any departure thence towards France." If he found himself strong enough and with any fair chance of success, "war or no war, attacked or not attacked," he was to assail any armed French ships that he could meet with. He was to provoke a quarrel if he did not find one. He was to challenge the right of the French commanders to carry English arms, and to tell them that, as an Englishman, he would not endure it. But all this he was to do ostensibly on his own authority: his commission from Queen Elizabeth was to be a secret.*

Winter obeyed his orders. A storm, which did serious damage to the French fleet under D'Elbœuf, detained him at Lowestoft for a fortnight; but he entered the Forth on the 23rd of January, 1560, to find that a part of the French force had preceded him, but in time to anticipate the rest. Without an hour's delay, he sailed up to two vessels, lying in the harbour, with the French flag at their topmast. Winter showed no flag, and, when the French admiral sent to ask who he was, he refused an answer. Thereby he gained his object. The angry Frenchmen discharged a shot, and so began the fight. Winter quickly ended it. A well-directed broadside

* *SECOND OFFICE MSS., Domestic, vol. vii., Nos. 65, 66*

from each of his men-of-war compelled the Frenchmen to surrender. The two fighting ships were captured, and the attendant transports were burnt after the provisions stored in them had been handed over to the people.* After that, Winter kept the Forth from any fresh arrival of Frenchmen, and did good service in Scottish waters until a second and more hopeful peace was signed in July.

It was soon broken; but nothing else of importance was done in the way of avowed sea-fighting with the French. The old breach between England and France was not really healed up during any part of Elizabeth's reign; but the greater hatred of Spain that steadily grew in both nations gradually made them seeming friends. On that account they both, in various degrees, aided the brave Netherlands in the struggle for independence with which the monarchical principles both of France and of England were in no sort of harmony. The English aid was heartier than the French, because, while the Huguenots who sided with the Netherlands were proscribed and disgraced, Englishmen in high places, with Elizabeth at their head, as well as common folk, were bound to the sturdy patriots of Holland and Flanders by the strong tie of Protestantism. Hence arose a double, triple, or quadruple course of action, producing an unparalleled confusion in European politics, taxing greatly the abilities of statesmen, and occasioning strange embarrassments in

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Scotland, Elizabeth*, vol. ii., Nos. 15, 24, 28—31.

the minds of honest men who had little liking for the tortuous ways of sixteenth-century statecraft. Added to all, were serious difficulties that grew out of the indomitable genius for seamanship and love of bold maritime adventure, with which was joined a hearty love of the gains that were most easily to be acquired by daring exploits on the sea, that characterized every nation not wholly land-locked, and characterized sea-girt England most of all. The product of all these various and confusing factors that here most concerns us was a wonderful development of piracy, which moralists are bound to condemn, and for which abstract rules of justice afford no warrant, but which, practised most of all perhaps by Englishmen, must be recognized as a powerful agent in the well-being of Tudor England.

Piracy was a venerable institution which Christian morality had not yet learnt to reprobate. The annals of mediæval England abound in illustrations of the depredations wrought by the galleys of the Cinque Ports upon the traders of Yarmouth and other places, and of the jealousies and reprisals consequent thereupon; and, when these and others like these were to some extent restrained by the growth of national feeling, similar depredations, causing similar reprisals, were followed with all the more zeal upon the trading vessels of foreign countries. In war-time piracy was openly sanctioned; in peace-time it was only denounced when it seemed likely to issue in fresh and unwelcome war. So it was in Elizabeth's time. Under Elizabeth, indeed, owing to the great increase of sea-

manship and the great increase of trade, whereby there were always floating upon the seas rich prizes which there were always plenty of men ready to try and make their own in the way of sport, and in the way of business at the same time, piracy became more prevalent. The great enterprises of such men as Hawkins, Drake, and Cavendish, in the Spanish Main and in the Southern Seas, which will presently have to be detailed, were only piracies on a grand scale. Smaller piracies, in English waters, and on the coasts of Scotland, France, and Flanders, practised by the hundred every year, gave occupation not only to lawless men of all sorts, but also to honest gentlemen and honest commoners, who found quieter employments not easy to procure or too tame to be followed with satisfaction. At first they were practised most frequently, and with least condemnation by Queen and statesmen, upon the trading ships of France and Scotland, with which England had been at feud for generations. When the new hatred of Spain rose up, and Protestants began to look upon all possible punishment of Papists as a religious duty, Spanish galleons were hunted down with special zest; and after the Netherlanders had cast off their allegiance to Spain, the English sea-rovers did not trouble to discriminate between the merchant fleets of Antwerp and the merchant fleets of Cadiz. Of course the English were not the only offenders. If they worried the peaceable traders of Scotland, France, Spain, and Flanders, the peaceable traders of England were quite as much worried by Scottish, French, Spanish, and

Flemish marauders; and the sport was keenest when the pirates of one nation met the pirates of another, and fought with fierce earnestness for the mastery.

Thus, while England was at 'seeming peace with all the world, many of its most adventurous subjects were at actual war with the subjects of nearly every European state. It is not, however, necessary to bring together instances of these little wars, as they hardly differed in character from the greater exploits that will be detailed in later pages. All we have here to do is to note the occurrence every year of scores of depredations, fightings, and massacres upon the sea, and, however much we may denounce them upon theoretical grounds, to remember that they were the rough exercises and the tough experiences by which Englishmen were, to a large extent, taught to become great seamen, and to make their mother-country the greatest maritime nation in the world.

Many embarrassments to English statesmen grew out of these piracies, and the chief occupation of Queen Elizabeth's navy, during five-and-twenty years, was in attempting to suppress them. Neither Elizabeth nor Cecil, probably, wholly disapproved of the condemned practices, and more than half the courtiers and statesmen, if not actually sharers in them, participated in the spoils. But there was tolerable piracy and there was intolerable piracy; and that which was intolerable to all honest and honourable men was checked and punished as far as lay within the power of Queen Elizabeth and her deputies. A few instances of this will suffice. In

July, 1562, for example, on the representation of special damage that had been done to some English merchant vessels by Breton rovers, four ships were put to sea under Sir William Woodhouse, with orders "to clear the narrow seas of pirates;"* and, this force being insufficient, two other ships, almost the largest in the navy, were in September commissioned to the same work under Captain George Beston.† In September, 1564, again, Sir Peter Carew was ordered to use two ships in driving from the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall the pirates who had lately infested them;‡ and in the following year special arrangements were made for punishing the sea-robbers who troubled Norfolk and the other eastern counties, troubling native traders and Dutch fish-dealers alike.§ In May, 1570, was issued a stringent proclamation for repressing pirates and sea-rovers, and prescribing the confiscation of their property.|| In February, 1572, John Hawkins, George Winter, and others were commissioned to do their utmost in clearing the British seas of pirates and freebooters;¶ and in November, 1575, a like commission was given to Captain William Holstock, two large ships being assigned for the work.** In May, 1576, three vessels were entrusted to Captain Henry Palmer, "for the clearing of the seas of pirates, excepting all ships under the Prince of Orange's commis-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. xxiii., Nos. 64—66.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxiv., No. 26.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xxxiv., No. 65.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii., Nos. 47, 48.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. lxix., No. 26.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxxv., No. 57.

** *Ibid.*, vol. cv., No. 68.

sion.”*—a curious exception, indicative of the growing friendship between England and the Netherlanders, whose war with Philip of Spain could still only be carried on under the name of piracy and rebellion. Of the same sort were many other commissions granted in these and later years; and they all resulted in the capture of numerous offenders, who seem to have been treated with equal justice, whether they were Englishmen or foreigners.

Nobler work, however, was preparing for Queen Elizabeth's navy, the preparation being in great part due to the bold seamen who shared in the enterprises that were led by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cviii., Nos. 23, 24.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EARLIER EXPLOITS OF SIR JOHN HAWKINS AND SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
IN THE SPANISH MAIN.

[1562—1576.]

SIR JOHN HAWKINS was born at Plymouth about the year 1520. His grandfather, John Hawkins, of Tavistock, was a merchant and sea-captain in the service of Henry VIII. between 1513 and 1518.* His father, William Hawkins, is described as a man "for his wisdom, valour, and experience and skill in sea causes much esteemed and beloved by King Henry VIII., and one of the principal sea-captains in the west parts of England in his time." He gave good proof of his wisdom and valour. Having fitted out "a tall and goodly ship of his own," the *Paul of Plymouth*, of 250 tons' burthen, he made in it, in 1530, 1531, and 1532, three several voyages to Brazil, being apparently the first Englishman, with the exception of Sebastian Cabot, who was then in Spanish service, who visited South America.

* BREWER, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 1369. In this chapter I have made use of some of the biographical statements in Chapter VIII. of my *English Merchants* on 'The Hawkinses of Plymouth.'

In each of his voyages, William Hawkins went first to the coast of Guinea, where also he appears to have been the first English trader; and, having there made profitable exchange of his English articles for elephants' teeth and such other commodities as the Negroes had to sell, he crossed the Atlantic, and made further profit by disposing of his newly-acquired goods to the Indians dwelling on the coast of Brazil. "He used such discretion, and behaved himself so wisely with those savage people," we are told, "that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them." In 1531, it is added, "one of the savage kings of the country of Brazil was contented to take ship with him, and be transferred hither into England; whereunto Master Hawkins agreed, leaving behind in the country, as a pledge for his safety and return again, one Martin Cockeram, of Plymouth." The native chief was brought to London, presented to Henry VIII., and made much of as the first of his race ever seen in England. In 1532 he started to return to his own country with Hawkins; but he died of sea-sickness on the way, and Hawkins expected to get into trouble on account of the disaster. "Nevertheless," says the chronicler, "the savages being fully persuaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored again the pledge, without any harm to him or any man of the company."*

All we know of old William Hawkins is told in the brief history of those memorable voyages. He had two famous sons, John and William, who, in different moods,

* HARLETT, vol. iii., pp. 700, 701.

inherited his seafaring and commercial zeal. William became a great merchant and shipowner in Plymouth and London. John also was a shipowner and merchant, though these callings came to be insignificant in comparison with the other ways in which he served his country.

He was bred a sailor. During his youth and early manhood, we are told, "he made divers voyages to the Isles of the Canaries, and there, by his good and upright dealing, being grown in honour of the people, informed himself of the state of the West Indies, whereof he had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people; and being, amongst other things, informed that Negroes were very good merchandize in Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea, he resolved within himself to make trial thereof."*

That was certainly not a very honourable branch of English commerce. But the discredit lies rather with the age than with Hawkins himself. For generations it had been a custom of the Spaniards and Portuguese to make slaves of their Moorish prisoners and of the African tribes associated with them; and for some time previous Negro slaves had been employed in the Spanish West Indies. This, indeed, had been done partly at the suggestion of the philanthropic Las Casas, who urged the substitution of Negro for Indian slavery on the ground of humanity, never thinking that the cruelty was as great in the one case as in the other.

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 500; PRINCE, *Worthies of Devon* (1701), p. 389.

Hawkins, therefore, shocked no prejudices and broke no accepted moral law, by participating in the slave-trade. A man of generous nature and high sense of honour would have preferred some other way of enriching himself. But Hawkins was not remarkable for generous or highly honourable conduct. He was a daring voyager, a brave soldier, and one of the first promoters of our country's naval greatness. In other respects he was no better than his fellows.

Hawkins was not quite the first Englishman who traded in Negro slaves. In 1553 Captain John Windham, accompanied by Antonio Pinteado, a Portuguese refugee, who revenged himself for some real or supposed wrongs by enticing others to enter on the African trade that had hitherto been jealously reserved to itself by Portugal, was sent by some London merchants in the track of old William Hawkins to Guinea. Windham's bad management, which caused his own death, and the death of two hundred out of his crew of two hundred and forty, made this voyage altogether disastrous.* But better fortune attended the expedition despatched next year, under Captain John Lock, with young Martin Frobisher for one of its crew.† Elephants' teeth and gold dust were procured in large quantities, also five of the Negroes, whom Lock described as "people of beastly living, without God, law, religion, or commonwealth."‡ There was some difficulty, however, in disposing of these latter commodities in England;

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 11—13. † See vol. i., p. 121.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 14—23.

and slave-buying seems not to have been repeated until 1562, when Hawkins set out on his first expedition.

In fitting out this expedition he was aided by Lionel Duckett, the great London merchant, by his father-in-law, Benjamin Gonson, the Treasurer of the Navy, and by many other men of influence; and one Thomas Hampton went with him as partner in the undertaking. They left England in October, with a hundred men in three vessels; the *Solomon*, of 120 tons' burthen, the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, and the *Jonas*, of 40 tons, and proceeded quickly to Sierra Leone. There Hawkins, we are told, "partly by the sword, and partly by other means, got into his possession three hundred Negroes at the least, besides other merchandizes which that country yieldeth." These commodities he then conveyed to San Domingo, entering the port with some doubt as to his reception, and with a pretence that he had been driven there by bad weather and want of food. The Spaniards, however, were in need of slaves, and readily bought all Hawkins's cargo. He had "peaceable traffic," says the narrator of the voyage, "trusting the Spaniards no farther than by his own strength he was able to master them." In exchange for his English goods and Negroes he obtained a goodly store of pearls, ginger, sugar, hides, and other native produce. Part of these he conveyed direct to England in September, 1563, in his three English ships, and thereby secured "much gain to himself and the adventurers." The rest he sent, under the care of Thomas Hampton,

to Cadiz in two Spanish vessels which had been chartered for the purpose.*

In so doing Hawkins showed that he had no thought of offending Spain or of doing anything more than trading peaceably with its subjects both at home and in the West Indies. Philip II. looked upon the matter very differently. Resenting all English interference with his colonial affairs, he reproved the Governor of San Domingo for sanctioning the trade, confiscated all Hampton's cargo, and nearly subjected Hampton himself to the rough handling of the Inquisition. He sent peremptory orders to the West Indian viceroy that no Englishman, on any pretext, was to be allowed to have any dealings with Spanish subjects, and acquainted the English ambassador at Madrid, that if such a thing were attempted, mischief would result. "Our folks must be narrowly looked to," wrote the ambassador to Queen Elizabeth in June, 1564, "and specially that they enterprise no trade or voyage to the Indies or islands of this King's navigation; which if they do, as already they have intelligence of some that propose it, surely it will breed occasion of much matter to pick."†

Queen Elizabeth did not heed that warning. Hawkins, as soon as he heard of the way in which Hampton and their joint property had been treated, made indignant claim upon the Spanish Government for restitution.

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 500; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Spanish*, cited by FROUDE, vol. viii., p. 471.

† FROUDE, vol. viii., pp. 472, 473.

None was made to him, and he thereupon lost no time, with the sanction of the Queen and her Council, in planning retaliation. Elizabeth showed her approval by allowing the *Jesus of Lubeck*, of 700 tons' burthen, one of the largest ships in her navy, to be chartered for 500*l.* for a new voyage.* The Earls of Leicester and Pembroke and other courtiers joined with Hawkins and his City friends in raising money enough for this voyage; and on the 18th of October, 1564, Hawkins left Plymouth with a little fleet of five vessels, the *Jesus*, his old *Solomon* and *Swallow*, and two little barks or sloops, the *Tiger*, of 50 tons, and the *Saint John Baptist*, of 30 tons; the crews of all numbering a hundred and seventy men. "Serve God daily; love one another; preserve your victuals; beware of fire; and keep good company," were the last of the pithy rules which Hawkins drew up for their guidance.†

While Hawkins was preparing for his second expedition, other preparations were being made for a precisely similar enterprise, under a Captain David Carlet, to whom also Queen Elizabeth lent one of her ships, the *Minion*, and who had charge of two smaller vessels, the *John the Baptist* and the *Merlin*, which last ship was blown up soon after its embarkation through an explosion of her powder-store. Carlet appears to have left London only a few days before Hawkins left Plymouth. The parties met in the Channel and kept

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xxxvii., No. 61.

† The details of this voyage, where no other authority is given, are from a narrative by John Sparke, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 501—521.

company for a month. They reached Santa Cruz, one of the Canaries, on the 4th of November. "About this island," says the historian of the voyage, "are certain flitting islands, which have been oftentimes seen, and when men approached near them they vanished; as the like hath been of these islands now known, by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other; and therefore it should seem he is not yet born to whom God hath appointed the finding of them."

On the 29th of November Hawkins called at Cape de Verde. The inhabitants he found to be of "nature very gentle and loving," and "more civil than any other, because of their daily traffic with the Frenchmen." This did not hinder him from proposing to take some of them as slaves; but, for some reason which is not given, the people of the *Minion* made known to them the designs of Hawkins, "so that they did avoid the snares laid for them." In punishment for that, Carlet was dismissed from the protection of the *Jesus*, and he soon got into such trouble with the Portuguese in Africa that he had to conduct his two vessels back to England without passing on to the West Indies.

In pursuance of his plan Hawkins tracked the African coast for nearly two months, generally going "every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling of their towns." Many of these inhabitants, perhaps—though that is no justification of the English procedure—did not deserve much better. The Samboes, who lived somewhere beyond Sierra Leone, are

described as cannibals living by war and robbery upon their neighbours; "wont not only to eat them that they kill, but also to keep those that they take until such time as they want meat, and then they kill them." The Sapiés, their chief victims, we are told, "do not eat men's flesh, unless in war they be driven by necessity thereunto." It is added that "they do jagg their flesh, both legs, arms, and bodies, as workman-like as a jerkin-maker with us pinketh a jerkin." Hawkins did a little jaggings of a rougher sort. All that he could, however, he took alive and unhacked, in order to turn them into marketable slaves.

In a fight with the natives of these parts on the 27th of December Hawkins had seven of his own men killed and twenty-seven wounded. On New Year's Day, 1565, he narrowly escaped much greater injury from a great effort made to surprise his men while on shore in a strange place in search of water. "But," says the narrator, pious after his own fashion, "God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by Him we escaped without danger—His name be praised for it!"

At length, having collected negroes enough, Hawkins started for the West Indies on the 29th of January. They were becalmed for eighteen days midway, "having now and then contrary winds and some tornadoes amongst the same calm," says the chronicler; "which happened to us very ill, being but reasonably watered for so great a company of Negroes and ourselves. This pinched us all; and, that which was worst, put us in such fear that many never thought to have reached the

Indies without great dearth of Negroes and of themselves; but the Almighty God, which never suffereth His elect to perish, sent us the ordinary breeze."

A desolate part of Dominica was reached on the 9th of March. On the 16th Hawkins touched at Margarita, where he was hospitably entertained, but not allowed to sell his negroes; and at Cumana, which he visited on the 22nd, he also found trade impossible. At Santa Fé, where there were few Spaniards, he was on the following day well received by the Indians. "They came down, presenting meal and cakes of bread, made of a kind of corn called maize. Also they brought down hens, potatoes, and pines, which we bought for beads, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles. These potatoes," says the chronicler, concerning an article of food soon to be introduced into England, "be the most delicate roots that may be eaten, and do far exceed our parsnips and carrots." "These Indians," it is added, "surely were gentle and tractable, and such as desire to live peaceably, or else it had been impossible for the Spaniards to have conquered them as they did, and the more to live now so peaceably, they being so many in number and the Spaniards so few."

Some fiercer and more crafty Indians on the American mainland, whom he visited on the 29th of March, invited Hawkins to trade with them. "If it had not been for want of wares to traffic with," we read, "he would not have denied them, because the Indians which he had seen before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But, as God would have it,

he wanted that thing which, if he had had, would have been his confusion; for there were no such kind of people as he took them to be, but more devilish a thousand parts, and are eaters and devourers of any man that they can catch,—bloodsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps; not sparing their own countrymen if they can conveniently come by them.”

Having entered on his first voyage with no aversion to the Spaniards, and with the simple object of carrying on a profitable trade in Negroes, Hawkins, on this second voyage, determined only to outreach King Philip, and, in defiance of his inhibitions, to follow out his purpose and win back the wealth of which he considered that he had been robbed when the cargo of hides sent by him to Cadiz was confiscated. He had not yet begun to consider that, if the punishment of Spaniards was not better than commercial gains, it would greatly tend to sweeten them. Therefore, according to an arrangement that he had made with Queen Elizabeth's Council before starting, he attempted to avoid open collision with the colonists. He kept away from San Domingo, and tried, by going only to the smaller and more remote dependencies, to sell his human wares in districts which Philip's prohibitory orders had not reached. With this intent he proceeded to Barbarotta, where he anchored on the 3rd of April, and asked permission to trade with the residents. He was informed that this could not be done, as the residents had been forbidden to have any dealings

with foreigners; "wherefore they desired him not to molest them farther, but to depart as he came, for other comforts he might not look for at their hands, because they were subjects, and might not go beyond the law." Hawkins, however, answered that he was an Englishman, with one of Queen Elizabeth's own ships in his fleet, and that he had need of refreshment "without which he could not depart." If they did not allow him to have his way, he said in another message, "he would displease them."

Some profitable trade resulted from his threats, and he remained in Barbarotta until the 4th of May. On the 6th he visited Curaçoa, and there, says the chronicler, "we had traffic for hides, and found great refreshing both of beef, mutton, and lambs, whereof there was such plenty that, saving the skins, we had the flesh given us for nothing; and the plenty thereof was so abundant that the worst in the ship thought scorn, not only of mutton, but also of sodden lamb, which they disdained to eat unroasted." Yet, it is added, "notwithstanding our sweet meat, we had sour sauce there; by reason of riding so open at sea, what with blasts whereby, our anchors being aground, three at once came home, and also with contrary winds blowing, whereby, for fear of the shore, we were fain to haul off to have anchor-hold, sometimes a whole day, and we turned up and down; and this happened not once but half a dozen times in the space of our being there."

From Curaçoa Hawkins passed on, by way of Cape de la Vela, to Rio de la Hacha, on the borders of

Darien. There, arriving on the 19th of May, he requested permission to trade as he had done in Barbarotta, supporting his request by a certificate of good conduct signed by the governor of the latter place. He was told, as he had been told at Barbarotta, that his proposal was in violation of the express orders of King Philip, and could not be assented to. Hawkins repeated his old excuse about bad weather and his need of fresh supplies. "But," he added, "seeing they would, contrary to all reason, go about to withstand his traffic, he would it should not be said by him, that, having the force he had, he was driven from his traffic perforce, but would rather put it in an adventure whether he or they should have the better; and therefore he willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade or else stand to their own harms." That blunt message induced the Spaniards to assent to his trading with them; but after they had inspected the Negroes, they offered only half as much per head as Hawkins had received at Barbarotta. It may be that the best slaves had already been picked out of the gang, and that the Spaniards proposed to give fair value for the remainder. Hawkins did not think so. "Weighing their unconscionable request, he wrote to them a letter, saying that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throat in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated as they could not by a great deal have the like at any other man's hands: but, seeing they had sent him this to his supper, he would in the morning bring them as good a breakfast." The breakfast

consisted of a volley of ordnance, followed by the landing of a hundred Englishmen, who, even before they had time to land, put to flight the hundred and fifty Spaniards that came out to meet them. After that, says Hawkins's companion, "we made our traffic quietly." All the remaining Negroes having been disposed of on the English terms, and three boats, "with balls in their noses and men with weapons accordingly," having superintended the settling of accounts, Hawkins left Rio de la Hacha on the 31st of May.

Having thus sold all his Negroes, Hawkins proposed to apply the money he had received for them in purchasing hides and other articles, which, conveyed to Europe for sale, would bring in a second profit. With that view he directed his course to Hispaniola; but bad steering took him instead to Jamaica. The blame of this blunder was laid upon a Spanish merchant whom Hawkins had rescued from the people of Africa and promised to take home to Hispaniola if he would first be an honest guide to his protectors. Even when Jamaica was reached, the Spanish merchant insisted that it was Hispaniola, and identified each creek and headland as they came within sight with similar parts of the larger island. "In the end," says the chronicler, "he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a-leeboard of all places and found ourselves at the west end of Jamaica before we were aware of it; and, being once to leeward, there was no getting up again, so that, by trusting of this Spaniard's knowledge, our captain

sought not to speak with any of the inhabitants, which, if he had not made himself sure of, he would have done, as was his custom in those places. But this man was a plague, not only to our captain, whom he made lose, by overshooting the place, 2,000*l.* in hides which he might have got there, but also to himself; for having been three years out of his country and in great misery in Guinea, and now in hope to come to his wife and friends, he could not find any habitation, neither there nor in Cuba, which we sailed all along."

Mistaking Jamaica for Hispaniola, Hawkins also mistook Cuba for Jamaica. He was thus taken out of reach of all the ports at which he might have made profitable purchases of hides. Then he resolved to sail homewards as soon as he had procured the fresh supply of water of which his ships were in sore need. That was not easy. Some they obtained at Pinas, on the 16th of June; and, we are told, "although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by means it is standing, and but the water of rain, and, moreover, being near the sea, was brackish, yet did we not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, than we should have been another time with fine conduit water." Further search for water took the vessels, through a storm in which one of them was nearly wrecked, past Havannah and along the coast of Florida, till they fell in with the Huguenot colony that had been founded there, in 1562, at the instigation of Admiral Coligni. Strife with the Indians and with one another had reduced the colonists from two hun-

dred to forty. Hawkins, in exchange for water, gave them an abundance of food. He also lent them his little *Tiger*, in which to return to Europe, after they had refused his offer of a passage in his own company.

Hawkins started for England on the 28th of July. Contrary winds kept him so long on the way that there was dearth of food. "We were divers times," says the chronicler, "in despair of ever reaching home, had not God, of His goodness, provided for us better than our deserving; in which state of great misery we were provoked to call upon Him by frequent prayer, which moved Him to hear us, so that we had a prosperous wind." The prayer and its consequences took them far to the north, up to the Bank of Newfoundland; but they safely reached Padstow, in Cornwall, on the 20th of September, after just eleven months' absence, "with loss of twenty persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers, as also to the whole realm, in bringing home both gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels, great store." The profits of the voyage to Hawkins and the friends who helped him to fit it out were reckoned at sixty per cent.

Greater profit came in the favour that was heaped upon Hawkins by Queen and people. "By way of increase and augmentation of honour, a coat of arms and crest were settled upon him and his posterity by a patent thus worded:—'He bears sable on a point wavee, a lion passant gold, in chief three besants; upon his helm a wreath argent and azure, a demi-moor, in his

proper colour, bound and captive, with amulets on his arms and ears, or, mantelled gules double argent.' ”* Hawkins was everywhere applauded for his bold and well-planned seamanship, for his successful opening up of a new line of commerce, and—though this was only spoken of in whispers—for his smart over-reaching of Philip II.'s plans for restraining him.

Hawkins thought it prudent to make light of his victory over the King of Spain. “I have always,” he said in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, “been a help to all Spaniards and Portugals that have come in my way, without any form or prejudice offered by me to any of them, although many times in this tract they have been under my power.”† “I met him in the palace,” wrote the Spanish Ambassador in London to King Philip, in November, “and invited him to dine with me. He gave me a full account of his voyage, keeping back only the way in which he had contrived to trade at our ports. He assured me, on the contrary, that he had given the greatest satisfaction to all the Spaniards with whom he had had dealings, and had received full permission from the governors of the towns where he had been. The vast profit made by the voyage has excited other merchants to undertake similar expeditions. Hawkins himself is going out again next May, and the thing needs immediate attention. I might tell the Queen that, by his own confession, he has traded in ports prohibited by your Majesty, and require her to punish him; but I

* PRINCE, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 389.

† *Cambridge MS.*, cited by FROUDE, vol. viii., p. 478.

must request your Majesty to give me full and clear instructions what to do.”*

Philip was not in the habit of giving clear instructions, though full they certainly were, in any case; and here his difficulty was increased by the tact with which Hawkins had so contrived as that any blame which might fall upon him must rebound with much greater force upon Philip's own governors and viceroys in the West Indies. Therefore the Spanish monarch seems to have done little more than grumble, and send out fresh and more stringent orders for the prevention of any further efforts that might be made by Hawkins or other Englishmen at forcing their trade upon the colonies in the Spanish Main.

These did not deter Hawkins; but they had some effect upon Elizabeth and her counsellors. The new expedition, which the Spanish Ambassador spoke of as likely to take place in May, 1566, was postponed till October; and then, when Hawkins was at Plymouth, just ready to embark, letters were sent down by Sir William Cecil strictly forbidding his project of “repairing armed, for the purpose of traffic, to places privileged by the King of Spain.”† In consequence, Hawkins was obliged to give his bond, with a penalty of 500*l.*, that he would forbear sending to any of the Spanish possessions the ship which he was fitting out for another slave-trading enterprise.‡ For that, or for some other

* *Simancoas MS.*, cited by FROUDE, vol. viii., p. 479.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xi., No. 84.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xi., No. 99.

reason, he did not accompany the two or three ships that went out in 1566; and of their movements we have no records. All we know is, that they returned to England next summer laden with gold, silver, and fine skins, which Philip's ambassador suspected to have been taken from some Spanish or Portuguese galleon.* It is probable that, lacking the slave-trading tact of Hawkins, their captains applied themselves to the easier work of piracy.

In the meanwhile, Hawkins was not idle. In June, 1567, we find him making estimates concerning the material requisite for setting up a fort on the Guinea coast, if that should be needed for extending his commerce in Negroes.† He was at the same time planning a larger expedition to the West Indies, which the progress of European politics during the previous year again made possible. Elizabeth, having given her countenance to the Netherlands' insurrection against Spain, could make no serious objection to such work as Hawkins projected. She discreetly abstained from hearing the details of the project; but, knowing its general tenour, she even allowed the *Jesus of Lubeck*, which she had lent to Hawkins in 1564, and the *Minion*, which had been chartered at the same time by Carlet, to be again made use of. Her subjects were not slow in providing money for fitting out the expedition, and in proffering their services as actual sharers in it.

One of these volunteers was young Francis Drake,

* MS. cited by FROUDE, vol. viii., p. 481.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xliii., No. 12.

then about twenty-two years old, but already possessed of many years' experience upon the sea. Drake's father appears to have been a resident in Devonshire of small means, which were made still smaller by the persecution to which he subjected himself through becoming a Protestant in violation of Henry VIII.'s Six Articles. "He was forced," says the old historian to whom Francis Drake told the story, "to fly from his house near South Tavistock in Devon, into Kent, and there to inhabit in the hull of a ship, wherein many of his younger sons were born. He had twelve in all. After the death of King Henry, he got a place among the seamen in the King's navy, to read prayers to them, and soon after he was ordained deacon. But by reason of his poverty he put his son to the master of a bark, with which he used to coast along the shore, and sometimes to carry merchandize into Zealand and France. The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him."*

That report of Francis Drake's parentage and early history is partly contradicted by another, almost as old, from which it would seem that his father was a common sailor.† It is clear, at any rate, that the young man rose from obscurity by his own merits, and was a sailor from his boyhood. As soon as he became owner of the coasting-bark which he had previously navigated, he appears to have sold it and applied himself to

* CAMDEN, *Annals*, p. 351.

† In a Memoir of Drake, by CAMPBELL, in the *Biographia Britannica*.

bolder work. He is said to have been purser in a ship trading to the Bay of Biscay in 1563.* In 1565 he went to Rio de la Hacha with a Captain John Lovell, about whose enterprise we have no information, but who evidently was one of the adventurers who followed in the track taken by Hawkins in 1564 to the Spanish Main.† Here he so far distinguished himself as to be entrusted by Hawkins, soon after his return, with the care of one of the vessels appointed for his new expedition.

These vessels were six in all;—the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and the *Minion*, supplied by the Queen, either for hire or on the understanding that her Majesty was to have a share in the profits of the enterprise, and commanded, the one by John Hawkins himself, the other by the John Hampton who accompanied him in 1562; and four others fitted out by Hawkins and his brother William, the *William and John*, under Captain Thomas Bolton, the *Judith*, a bark of 50 tons burthen, entrusted to Captain Francis Drake, the *Swallow*, and the *Angel*. Added to these six was a small pinnace; and the whole fleet is said to have contained, though the number is certainly overstated, fifteen hundred sailors and soldiers.‡ Five hundred is a more probable number. The primary object of the voyage does not seem to have been slave-trading. Two Portuguese refugees had offered to put

* Stow, *Annals*, p. 807.

† *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, published by his Nephew, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, the Younger, in 1626.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 521: HERRERA, *Historia General*, lib. xix., cap. 18.

Hawkins in the way of loading as many ships as he chose to employ with gold and other wealth belonging to Spain; and perhaps it was intended to use the little fleet, as a first step at any rate, in piratical attack upon galleons in Spanish waters.* But the Portuguese took fright and ran away before Hawkins was ready to start; and, on the 16th of September, he wrote from Plymouth to Queen Elizabeth, saying he would now take all the management in his own hands, and that he proposed "to lade Negroes in Guinea, and sell them in the West Indies, in truck of gold, pearls, and emeralds."†

On the eve of embarkation a memorable episode occurred. A Spanish galley was passing through the English Channel, with a cargo of captive insurgents from the Netherlands, on its way to Cadiz. Hawkins, glad of an excuse, fired upon the Spanish flag that was hanging from her topmast, and, in the turmoil that ensued while the flag was being lowered, the captives made their escape to the *Jesus*, whence they were sent back to Holland. Elizabeth, formally reproving him for this, was appeased by his assurance that he supposed the Spanish ship had been sent to attack him. But Philip's ambassador was not appeased. "Your mariners rob my master's subjects on the sea and trade where they are forbidden to go," he said in an angry letter to the Queen. "They plunder our people in the streets of your towns. They attack our vessels in your

* HERRERA, lib. xix., cap. 18.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xliv., No. 7.

very harbours, and take our prisoners from them. Your preachers insult my master from their pulpits; and, when we apply for justice, we are answered with threats. We have borne with these things, attributing them rather to passion or rudeness of manners than to any deliberate purpose of wrong; but seeing there is no remedy and no end, I must now refer to my sovereign to learn what I am to do. I make, however, one concluding appeal to your Majesty: I entreat your Majesty to punish this last outrage at Plymouth, and to preserve the peace between the two nations.”*

Immediate punishment, if she had wished to effect it, was out of Elizabeth's power. Four days before the ambassador's letter was written, on the 2nd of October, Hawkins had left Plymouth to enter on a course of troubles by which he certainly was punished enough. In a four days' storm off Cape Finisterre the *Jesus* was nearly disabled, and the ship's boats were lost; and when Cape de Verde was reached on the 18th of November, fresh disasters arose. A hundred and fifty men were there landed and sent in search of Negroes. “But,” says Hawkins, in his narrative of the voyage,† “we got but few, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their envenomed arrows. Although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them but died in strange sort, with

* MSS. cited by FROUDE, vol. viii., pp. 481, 482; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xlv., No. 13.

† HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 521—525, which is the authority for the following account, when no other is cited.

their mouths shut some ten days before they died, and after their wounds were whole. I myself had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped." Seven or eight Englishmen died of lock-jaw. ✓

At Cape de Verde and on all the coast from Rio Grande to Sierra Leone, where he made tedious search for them until the 12th of January, Hawkins collected only a hundred and fifty slaves; and he thought that sickness and the lateness of the season would compel him to cross the Atlantic, "having yet nothing wherewith to seek the coast of the West Indies." He went a little further, however, and then, to his great satisfaction, was asked by a Negro king to aid him in vanquishing one of his neighbours. All the captives were to go to Hawkins in payment for his services. A hundred and twenty Englishmen were detached for this work. They attacked a town containing eight thousand inhabitants, "strongly paled and fenced after their manner," and, when six of their number had been killed and forty wounded, they had to send to Hawkins for reinforcements. "Whereupon," he says, "considering that the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself, and, with the help of the king of our side, assaulted the town both by land and sea, very hardly with fire—their houses being covered with palm-leaves—obtained the town, and put the inhabitants to flight. We took two hundred and fifty persons, men, women, and children; and by our friend the king on our side there were taken six hundred

prisoners, whereof we hoped to have our choice; but the Negro—in which nation is never or seldom found truth—meant nothing less; for that night he removed his camp and prisoners, so that we were fain to content us with those few that we had gotten ourselves.”

With his scanty and basely acquired cargo of Negroes Hawkins proceeded to the Spanish Main. Passing Dominica on the 27th of March, and stopping often to trade at the islands on his way, he reached Rio de la Hacha in June. There, as he expected and perhaps hoped, there was opposition to his projects. “The treasurer who had the charge,” he says, “would by no means agree to any trade or suffer us to take water. He had fortified his town with divers bulwarks in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himself with a hundred harquebusiers; so that he thought by famine to have enforced us to land our Negroes. Of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unless we had by force entered the town; which, after we could by no means obtain his favour, we were enforced to do, and so, with two hundred men, brake in upon their bulwarks and entered the town, with the loss of only two men of our parts,—and no hurt done to the Spaniards, because, after their volley discharged, they all fled. Thus having the town, with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards’ desire of Negroes, and partly by the friendship of the treasurer, we obtained a secret trade; whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of two hundred Negroes.”

From Rio de la Hacha Hawkins went to Cartagena; but being there forbidden to trade, and having very few Negroes left for any purposes of trade adapted to the port, and being also anxious to get clear of the West Indies before the season of hurricanes set in, he left it peaceably on the 24th of July. He then directed his course to Florida, where on his previous voyage he had been able to obtain fresh supplies of water. When he was westward of Cuba, however, on the 12th of August, a violent storm, lasting four days, sadly troubled the fleet. "It so beat the *Jesus*," says Hawkins, "that we cut down all her higher buildings. Her rudder also was sore shaken; and withal the ship was in so extreme a leak that we were rather on the point to leave her than to keep her any longer. Yet, hoping to bring all to a good pass, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor haven for our ships, because of the shallowness of the coast. Thus, being in great despair, and taken with a new storm, which continued other three days, we were enforced to take for succour the port which serveth for the city of Mexico, called San Juan de Ulloa."

In that plan Hawkins was overbold, and his prospects were not improved by his capture of three small Spanish vessels which fell in his way, and which he attached to his fleet, hoping that for the hundred prisoners which they yielded he might obtain the requisite supplies by way of ransom. He reached San Juan, which is a rocky island helping to form the harbour of Vera Cruz, on the 16th of September. There he at first adopted a

policy of moderation, very rare in him and only here to be explained on the assumption that he had discovered the weakness of his force and the need of propitiating the Spaniards, who now looked upon him as one of their worst enemies. "I found in the same port," he says, "twelve ships which had in them, by report, 200,000*l.* in gold and silver; all which, being in my possession, with the King's Island"—that is, San Juan—"as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed, I set at liberty without taking from them the weight of a groat."

The colonists at Vera Cruz at first supposed that Hawkins's ships were a fleet from Spain, for which they were looking out. The chief officers of the port accordingly came on board for the despatches. "Being deceived of their expectation, they were greatly dismayed; but immediately, when they saw our demand was nothing but victuals, they were recomforted." Hawkins kept two of them as hostages, while a message was sent to the governor in Mexico, representing his condition and asking permission to buy such articles as he needed.

That message was despatched on the night of Hawkins's arrival, and in it he exhausted his moderation. "On the morrow," he says, "we saw open of the haven thirteen great ships, and, understanding them to be the fleet of Spain, I sent immediately to advise the General of the fleet of my being there, giving him to understand that before I would suffer him to enter the port, there should be some order of conditions pass between us, for

our safe-being there and maintenance of peace." That certainly was haughtier conduct than any that Englishmen had had to complain of at the hands of Spanish captains in British waters. Hawkins himself felt constrained to make some excuse for it. "It is to be understood," he wrote in his history of the enterprise, "that this port is made by a little island of stones not three foot above the water in the highest place, and but a bowshot of length any way, standing from the mainland two bowshots or more. Also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety, because the north wind hath there such violence that, unless the ships be very safely moored, with their anchors fastened upon this island, there is no remedy for these north winds but death. Also the place of the haven is so little that of necessity the ships must ride one above the other, so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us. And here I began to bewail that which after followed; for now, said I, I am in two dangers and forced to receive the one of them. That was; either I must have kept out the fleet, the which, with God's help, I was very well able to do; or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute, when they may have opportunity to compass it by any means. If I had kept them out, then had there been present shipwreck of all the fleet, which amounted, in value of our money, to 1,800,000*l.*, which I considered I was not able to answer, fearing the Queen's Majesty's indignation in so weighty a matter. Thus, with myself revolving the

doubts, I thought rather better to abide the jutt of the uncertainty than the certainty. The uncertain doubt, I account, was their treason, which, by good policy, I hoped might be prevented; and therefore, as choosing the least mischief, I proceeded to conditions."

Hawkins's "good policy" was no match for the "accustomed treason" of the Spaniards as practised by the commander of their fleet, Francisco de Luxan, and the new Viceroy of Mexico, Don Martin Henriquez, who was on board. This treason, however, was no worse than rough precedents of the age fully sanctioned, and probably no worse than Hawkins himself would have resorted to in like case. Don Martin, when told that the strange ships which opposed his immediate entrance into port were under the command of the hated Hawkins, is reported to have sent a haughty message to him, saying "that he was a Viceroy, and had a thousand men, and therefore he would come in." "If he be a Viceroy," answered Hawkins, "I represent my Queen's person, and I am a Viceroy as well as he; and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place."* Don Martin, knowing that he must enter somehow or run the chance of shipwreck, immediately resolved upon treachery. He sent word that he would comply with any reasonable terms that Hawkins might propose. Hawkins replied that all he wanted was permission to barter certain of his goods, in fair market, for such provisions as were required for his

* Job Hartop, in a narrative printed by HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 487—495.

voyage back to England. "Then the Viceroy," says one of the Englishmen, "yielded to our General's demands, swearing by his King and his crown, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that he would perform it, and thereupon pledges were given on both parts." Hostages were exchanged—the Spanish hostages being "the basest of their company, in costly apparel,"—and "proclamation was made on both sides that, on pain of death, no occasion should be given whereby any quarrel should grow to the breach of the league."*

Thus the Spaniards entered the harbour, and the Englishmen were at their mercy. After two days of "great amity" Hawkins's suspicions were aroused by seeing that additional guns were placed on the fortifications of the port, and that fresh soldiers were drafted to the ships. A great Spanish hulk, also, was moored beside the *Minion*, and at daybreak Hawkins saw that three hundred men had been smuggled into her in the dark. He bade his men prepare for the worst, and sent Robert Barret, the master of the *Minion*, to ask the Viceroy what all this meant. Barret was straightway put in irons, and a trumpet sounded. That was the appointed signal for an attack upon the English. The three hundred Spaniards had begun to board the *Minion* almost before the trumpet had ceased to blow. "God and Saint George!" shouted Hawkins. "Upon those traitorous villains, and rescue the *Minion*. I trust

* Job Hartop's narrative.

in God the day shall be ours!"* "By God's appointment," he says, "in the time of suspicion we had, which was only one half-hour, the *Minion* was made ready to avoid; and so, loosing her head-fasts and hauling away by the stern-fasts, she was gotten out. Thus, with God's help, she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The *Minion* being passed out, they came aboard the *Jesus*; which also, with very much ado and the loss of many of our men, kept them out. There were also two other ships that assaulted the *Jesus* at the asme instant, so that she had hard getting loose; but yet, with some time, we had cut our head-fasts. Now, when the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were gotten about two ships' lengths from the Spanish fleet, the fight began so hot on all sides that, within one hour, the admiralt† of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunk, their vice-admiral burnt, and one other of their chief ships believed to be sunk; so that the ships were little able to annoy us."

But this first triumph was brief. Hawkins had to face an overwhelming force on shipboard and all the artillery of San Juan and Vera Cruz. Let the sequel be told in the words of Job Hartop, one of the combatants. "We cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them. They came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clock until it was

* Job Hartop's narrative.

† In those days the chief fighting ships were generally called the Admiral and the Vice-Admiral; the titles of the chief officers on shipboard, as on land, were General and Lieutenant-General.

night. They killed all our men that were on shore in the island saving three, which, by swimming, got aboard the *Jesus of Lubeck*. They sunk the *Angel*, and took the *Swallow*. The Spaniards' admiral had above three score shot through her. Many of her men were spoiled. Four other of their ships were sunk. There were in that fleet, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fifteen hundred. We slew of them five hundred and forty, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the *Jesus of Lubeck* had five shot through her mainmast: her foremast was struck in sunder, under the hounds, with a chain-shot, and her hull was wonderfully pierced with shot. Therefore it was impossible to bring her away. They set two of their own ships on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the *Jesus of Lubeck*, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the hawse and winding off by our stern-fast. The *Minion* was forced to set sail and stand off from us, and come to an anchor without shot of the island. Our General courageously cheered his soldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of beer, who brought it him in a silver cup; and he, drinking to all his men, willed the gunners to stand by their ordnance like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand but a demi-culverin shot struck away the cup, and a cooper's plane that stood by the mainmast, and ran out on the other side of the ship. Which nothing dismayed our General; for he ceased not to encourage us, saying, 'Fear nothing; for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitors

and villains.' Then Captain Bland, meaning to have turned out of the port, had his mainmast struck overboard with a chain-shot that came from the shore. Wherefore he anchored, fired his ship, took his pinnace with all his men, and came on board the *Jesus of Lubeck* to our General ; who said unto him that he thought he would not have run away from him. He answered that he was not minded to have run away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleet aboard and fired his ship, in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleet. He said, if he had done so, he had done well. With this, night came on. Our General commanded the *Minion*, for safeguard of her masts, to be brought under the *Jesus of Lubeck's* lee. He willed Master Francis Drake to come in with the *Judith* and to lay the *Minion* aboard, to take in men and other things needful, and to go about ; and so he did. At night, when the wind came off the shore, we set sail, and went out, in despite of the Spaniards and their shot, when we anchored with two anchors under the island, the wind being northerly, which was wonderful dangerous, and we feared every hour to be driven with the lee shore."*

* The above details, ill-arranged and differing somewhat from the other narratives extant, are yet the best we have. They agree, in the main, with Hawkins's shorter and also confusing account, and with another account, by Miles Philips (HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 469—487). HERRERA, whose report is certainly not more favourable to his countrymen's good faith, says that the fight was begun on shore by Spaniards, with arms concealed, who invited some Englishmen to drink, and then set upon them. He reports that the Spanish hostages left with

Thus dismally, though gloriously, ended Hawkins's great fight with the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulloa on the 23rd of September, 1568. But the troubles of the Englishmen were not here ended. Drake, in his little *Judith*, crowded with his own men and several who had escaped from the other ships, proceeded at once to England, thereby incurring serious blame, and reached Plymouth after a tardy voyage, a day or two before the 20th of January, 1569.* The *Jesus of Lubeck*, the *William and John*, the *Angel*, and the *Swallow* had been wrecked or taken by the Spaniards, many of their crews being drowned or captured, and only so many as could make their escape in boats being able to take refuge in the *Minion*. "The men on board the *Minion*," says Hawkins, "without either the captain's or the master's consent, set sail in such hurry and confusion, that it was not without great difficulty I was received on board."

The Englishmen taken by the Spaniards had no mercy from them. "It is a certain truth," it was said in 1582, "that they took our men and hung them up by the arms, upon high posts, until the blood burst out of their fingers' ends. Of which men so used there is one Copstone and certain others yet alive, who, by the merciful providence of the Almighty, were long since arrived here in England, carrying still about with them, and shall to their graves, the marks and

Hawkins testified to the generous treatment they received at his hands.
—*Historia General*, lib. xix., cap. 18.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xlix., Nos. 36, 37.

tokens of those their inhuman and more than barbarous cruel dealings."*

Of those who escaped in the *Minion*, about two hundred in all, many fared no better. "We were now left alone," says Hawkins, "with only two anchors and two cables, our ship so damaged that it was as much as we could do to keep her above water, and a great number of us with very little provisions. We were besides divided in opinion what to do. Some were for yielding to the Spaniards; others chose rather to submit to the mercy of the savages; and again, others thought it more eligible to keep the sea, though with so scanty an allowance of victuals as would hardly suffice to keep us alive. In this miserable plight we ranged an unknown sea for fourteen days, till extreme famine obliged us to seek for land. So great was our misery that hides were reckoned good food. Rats, cats, mice, and dogs, none escaped us that we could lay our hands on. Parrots and monkeys were our dainties. In this condition we came to land, on the 8th of October, at the bottom of the Bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, relief of victuals, and a proper place to repair our ship. But we found everything just contrary to our expectation; neither inhabitants, nor provisions, nor a haven for the repair of our ship. Many of our men, nevertheless, being worn out with hunger, desired to be set on shore, to which I consented. Such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to go home-

* Miles Philips's narrative, in *HAKLUYT*, vol. iii., p. 473.

wards I put apart; so that they were indifferently parted, a hundred on one side, and a hundred on the other side. These men we set a-land with all diligence in this little place; which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remains of victuals to take the sea."

Hawkins's excuse for thus abandoning half his men to the scant mercies of Indians and Spaniards in a Mexican morass is in the certainty that, without some such measure, the whole party must have perished of starvation on ship-board; and he is not greatly to be blamed for adding to the many who desired to be thus left a few of mutinous disposition who, having at first insisted upon being put on land, had in the end to be coerced thereto. "When we were landed," says one of the number, "he came unto us, where, friendly embracing every one of us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him. He counselled us to serve God and to love one another, and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowful farewell, and promised, if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England, and so he did."*

The melancholy history of these hundred men must be briefly told. Their troubles began as soon as they were landed, when many of them were made ill by the quantity of water which they drank and the unwholesome nuts which they ate. At night time their only bed was the damp ground. They wandered through

* Job Hartop's narrative, in *HAKLUYT*, vol. iii., p. 491.

marshes for some days, until they met a wandering tribe of man-eating Indians who, supposing them to be Spaniards, fiercely assailed them, and, after they had begged by signs for mercy and shown by their speech that they were not of the hated race, stripped all who wore coloured clothes, and left only the black raiment to be divided among them. Only eight Englishmen were slain in this meeting. The others divided into two parties, half going northwards along the shore, and half going to the west, in a route pointed out by the Indians. This latter company forced their way for a fortnight through marshes overgrown with grass five or six feet high, interspersed with bramble-covered clumps of ground on which their naked limbs were torn at every step. Many were killed by Indians who shot at them unawares. Those who escaped from the Indians' arrows were plagued almost to madness by mosquitoes and other stinging flies. At length they reached the river Panluco, and saw Spaniards on the other side, who crossed over in boats and so conveyed them to the town of Panluco. There, upon telling their story, the Governor threatened to hang them all for treacherous villains, and, when sued for mercy, put them for three days into "a little hogsty," where they were fed upon pigs' food and nearly poisoned by foul smells. At the end of the three days, they were bound two and two together and marched over ninety leagues of road to the city of Mexico. They were kindly used at some of the halting-places, and one of the two officers to whom they were entrusted did what he could to

lessen their sufferings ; but the other “ carried a javelin in his hand,” says Miles Philips, one of the two who has told the story, “ and sometimes, when as any of our men with very feebleness and faintness were not able to go so fast as he required them, he would take his javelin in both his hands, and strike them with the same between the neck and the shoulders so violently that he would strike them down : then would he cry and say, ‘ March, march on, you English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God.’ ” At last they reached Mexico, and there they were put into a vile prison, in company with many of the comrades from whom they had parted a few weeks before, and many others who had been taken prisoners at San Juan de Ulloa ; the whole body of prisoners being about a hundred. After they had been in gaol for four months, they were taken out and distributed as servants among the Spanish colonists, who generally employed them as overseers of their Indian and Negro slaves. That state of things lasted six years, and most of them fared well during that time. But in 1575 the Inquisition was introduced into Mexico, and then “ their sorrows began afresh.” On the eve of Good Friday all were dressed for an auto da fê, and paraded through the streets. A few were burnt : others were sent to the galleys : those who had kind friends escaped with short imprisonment and two or three hundred lashes apiece. Miles Philips, one of the most fortunate, served five years in a monastery, and then, having made friends with some Indian fellow-slaves and learnt their language,

managed to make his escape to Guatemala, and thence, professing that he was a Spaniard, to work his way to England in February, 1582. Another of the party, Job Hartop, who was soon taken to Spain, thus sums up a long narrative of his long troubles: "I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two years; in the Contratation House in Seville, one year; in the Inquisition House in Triana, one year. I was in the galleys twelve years; in the Everlasting Prison Remediless, with the coat with Saint Andrew's Cross on my back, four years; and, at liberty, I served as a drudge Hernando de Loria three years; which is the full complement of twenty-three years."* Hartop returned to Portsmouth in 1590, and a few others reached England at various times; but most of the hundred men left by Hawkins on the Mexican coast died of the hardships inflicted upon them by the Spaniards.

Death came more quickly to most of the hundred who left the Mexican coast with Hawkins on the 16th of October, 1568. While the division of the men was being made, the *Minion* had been very nearly wrecked in a violent storm that lasted for three days. But "God again had mercy on them." The disconsolate voyagers had fair weather as they sailed out of the Gulf of Mexico and past the Bahamas, although through lack of food they were hardly able to manage the sails. A great many died of starvation. The rest slowly worked their way across the Atlantic, and finding themselves near the coast of Spain, put in at Pontevedra,

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 469—487, 487—495.

in Galicia, on the 31st of December. There and at Vigo, whither they went on hearing that they were identified, and that steps were being taken for their arrest, they obtained supplies of food and the assistance of twelve English sailors, who navigated the ship for them. 'They themselves nearly all died of the "miserable diseases" which came upon their weakened bodies through the "excess of fresh meat," which they procured in Spain. Hawkins and a few others, however, survived and reached Mount's Bay, in Cornwall, on the 25th of January, 1569. "All our business hath had infelicity, misfortune, and an unhappy end," he said in a letter addressed on that day to Sir William Cecil. "If I should write of all our calamities, I am sure a volume as great as the Bible will scarcely suffice."*

When the story of those calamities was made known, a new thrill of hatred against Spain and all Spaniards ran through England. Spaniards had been too often ill-used by Englishmen, and especially by Hawkins himself, for their bad faith to be made a ground of serious complaint by Queen Elizabeth to King Philip; but the recollection of this occurrence was treasured up until a future time as one of the many cogent reasons for the carrying on of open war between England and Spain. In the meanwhile it gave a new impetus to the private warfare that had already been in progress for ten years or more.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xlix., No. 40. A whole volume (liii.) of this collection is occupied with the reports, evidence of witnesses, and the like, presented to a Commission of Inquiry, to which Hawkins's case was referred, in July, 1569.

Hawkins applied himself to the prosecution of that warfare with persistent zeal. But he had suffered too much in purse, as well as in health, by the misfortunes of his last voyage to be hasty in entering upon another. The task of fighting with the Spaniards in the Spanish Main he left to others, and his most famous follower was young Francis Drake.

Having lost, in the expedition of 1567, all his little savings, Drake determined to win back all that had been taken from him, and in doing so to seize as much more as he could lay hands on. And he set about the business in a business-like way. "Finding that no recompense could be recovered out of Spain by any of his own means or by her Majesty's letters," we are told, "he used such help as he might by two several voyages into the West Indies, to gain such intelligence as might further him to get some amend for his loss." The first of these voyages was undertaken in 1570, in two little vessels, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*. The second was undertaken in 1571 in the *Swan* alone. About neither expedition is much more recorded than that in them "he got such certain notice of the persons and places aimed at as he thought requisite."* They were small trading and piratical voyages made

* *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, by PHILIP NICHOLS—"reviewed also by Sir Francis Drake himself before his death, and much holpen and enlarged, by divers notes with his own hand, here and there inserted" (1626)—which is my chief authority for the account of the voyage of 1572. Some other details are from a SLOANE MS. in the British Museum made use of by BARROW, in his *Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Sir Francis Drake* (1843).

probably at other people's expense, and used by Drake for earning money, as well as for acquiring information, both being alike needful to the work he had in view.

In 1572 Drake entered upon this work in good earnest. On the 24th of May he left Plymouth, in company with his brother John—another brother, Joseph, being also of the party—with two barks, the *Pascha*, of 70 tons burthen, and the *Swan*, of 25 tons, well supplied with food and all fighting implements, “especially having three dainty pinnaces made in Plymouth, taken asunder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up as occasion served.” His entire crew comprised seventy-three men and boys. With this force he purposed to despoil Nombre de Dios, on the north side of the Isthmus of Darien, then “the granary of the West Indies, wherein the golden harvest brought from Peru and Mexico to Panama was hoarded up till it could be conveyed into Spain.”

Drake proceeded at once to a little bay in the Gulf of Darien, which he had discovered in a previous voyage, and named Port Pheasant, “by reason of the great store of those goodly fowls, which he and his companions did there daily kill and feed on in that place.” This seems to have been a haunt of English voyagers who amused themselves with West Indian piracy, already practised by many. In it Drake found upon a tree a communication from a John Garret of Plymouth, who had been previously associated with him, warning him that the Spaniards had discovered the hiding-place, and that it was no longer safe to use it.

Drake, however, remained a few days, long enough to set up the three pinnaces that he had taken from England, and also to welcome one James Rouse, who had also been previously connected with him, and who now seems to have come to the place by appointment. Rouse brought his little bark, with a crew of thirty men, and a Spanish caravel and shallop which he had captured on the way out. It was arranged that he should stay at Port Pheasant with the three barks and the caravel, while Drake went to plunder Nombre de Dios with the three pinnaces and the shallop, manned by fifty-three of his own men and twenty of Rouse's.

The bold little company reached Nombre de Dios at three o'clock in the morning of the 23rd of July. In the dark they sped into the port, and all landed without opposition from the single gunner who was on the watch. "On landing on the platform," says one of the freebooters, "we found six great pieces of ordnance mounted upon their carriages, some demi, some whole, culverins. We presently dismounted them. The gunner fled: the town took alarm, as we perceived not only by the noise and cries of the people, but by the bell ringing out, and drums running up and down the town. Our captain sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the alarm-bell, which had continued all this while, but the church being very strongly built and fast shut, they could not without firing, which our captain forbade, get into the steeple where the bell hung." The first firing came from the Spaniards, who discharged a volley of shot upon the invaders, and wounded

Drake in the leg, but they were driven off by the English arrows. John Drake and seventeen others—the most notable of whom was John Oxenham of Plymouth, at first a common sailor and cook, but already high in favour as a daring buccaneer—were sent to get possession of the King's Treasure House; and twelve men were left in charge of the pinnaces. With the other forty-three Drake rushed into the market-place, causing as much noise as possible to be made with trumpets and drums and as much glare as possible with fire-pikes and torches, so as to deceive the sleepy inhabitants concerning the number of their assailants. In a smart skirmish with the Spaniards he drove them back, with the exception of two or three whom he forced to lead him at once to the Governor's House. The door was open, and Drake hurrying in, discovered a great heap of silver bars, which he guessed to be seventy feet long, ten broad, and twelve high, and worth about 1,000,000*l*. Leaving here a strong guard, Drake hastened to the Treasure House, where a yet greater store of gold was thought to be, telling his comrades "that he had now brought them to the mouth of the treasury of the world, which if they did not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed." They did not gain it, however, and the blame, if any, was with Drake himself. Of the wound which he had received almost at landing he had made light, "knowing that, if the general's heart stoops, the men's will fall, and that, if so bright an opportunity once setteth, it seldom riseth again." But blood dropped from his leg at every step, and while he

was before the Treasure House, directing his men as to the best way of forcing an entry, says the narrator, "it soon filled the very prints which our footsteps made, to the great dismay of all our company, who thought it not credible that one man should lose so much blood and live." Drake lived, but he fainted, and his men were so disconcerted thereat, that they could do nothing but bind up his wound with his scarf, and then bear him back to the pinnaces. Many of them picked up a goodly quantity of plunder as they went, and in the harbour they despoiled a Spanish ship of several kegs of wine. But, with very little of the booty that they hoped for, they had to retreat to a small island some six miles off, called by them the Island of Victuals, and there spend two days in attending to the wounds which many others, besides Drake, had received. The wine which they had captured proved very serviceable; and other refreshment, "no less strange than delicate," was procured from the gardens and farmhouses in the fruitful Island of Victuals.*

While Drake was there lying, a Spanish hidalgo from Nombre de Dios, in seeming friendship, came to visit him. He asked whether the captain was the same Drake who had troubled the coast on two previous years, and, seeing how sorely the Spaniards had been hurt, whether the English poisoned their arrows, and how the wounds could be healed. Drake haughtily replied "that he was the same Drake they meant;

* A slightly different account of this raid, by Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, is in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 525, 526.

that it was never his custom to poison arrows; that their wounds might be cured with ordinary remedies; and that he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself and his company; and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest which they had got out of the earth and then had sent into Spain to trouble the earth."

On the 25th of July Drake left the little Island of Victuals and returned to Captain Rouse and his barks. Rouse feared pursuit, and therefore, receiving his share of the small spoil, departed to follow his own way of piracy. Drake, thereupon, sent his brother John to make fresh observations of the approaches to the river Chagres, a little to the west of Nombre de Dios, which he had seen in 1571, but about which, a new plot being in his mind, he desired some further information. The information appears to have been unsatisfactory and the plan abandoned.

Drake then sailed towards Cartagena, and almost in its harbour, on the 13th of August, boarded and plundered two Spanish ships, one of them of 240 tons burthen. In the evening, leaving his two barks among some barren islands a little to the south, he took the three pinnaces into the harbour itself, heard that the colonists had been warned, by a flying pinnace from Nombre de Dios, of his approach, and, in cool defiance, sailed up to a great ship of Seville which was to start next morning for San Domingo. "Every pinnace, according to the captain's order, one on the starboard

bow, the other on the starboard quarter, and the captain in the midships on the larboard side, forthwith boarded her, though all had some difficulty to enter, by reason of her height. But, as soon as all entered upon the decks, they threw down the gratings and spar-decks, to prevent the Spaniards from annoying them with their close fights; who then, perceiving the English were possessed of their ship, stowed themselves all in the hold with their weapons. Having cut their cables at the hawse, with the three pinnaces they towed her about the island into the sound right afore the town. Meanwhile the town, having intelligence hereof by their watch, took the alarm, rang out their bells, shot off about thirty pieces of great ordnance, put all their men in a readiness, horse and foot, came down on the very point of the wood, and discharged their calivers in going forth." While all that stir was being made, Drake was in safe retreat.

His hardiness, which would have been foolhardiness in any one of less skilful and persistent daring, had now brought him into what might seem to be a desperate state. The fortifications at Nombre de Dios and Cartagena, the two strong gates of the Gulf of Darien, had put out all their strength to withstand him, and stout galleys were looking out for him in the intermediate waters. Therefore, fearing nothing, he determined to resort to a bold expedient. Trusting most to his fleet pinnaces, and not having men enough for all his five vessels, he set on fire his little *Swan*, and turned the *Pascha* into a store-ship, to be lodged in a remote corner of the

bay. In that corner, which he reached on the 21st of August, he made friends of the native Symerons or Maroons, a race of Indians, with Spanish blood among them, formed, or at any rate augmented by fugitives from the slavery enforced by the Spanish conquerors of America, and thus imbued with fierce hatred against them. These Symerons helped Drake's followers to clear a plot of ground and build enough huts for them to live in, thus providing very convenient head-quarters for the adventurers during the next few months.

From this temporary residence Drake made more piratical expeditions than need be here detailed. During one little cruise, with two of the pinnaces, he took six Spanish frigates—frigates in those days being small pinnaces of only 5, 10, or 15 tons burthen—laden with "hogs, hams, and maize," of which useful articles he put the greater part into two of the captured boats, discharging the Spaniards in the other four. More than once he passed within gun-shot of Cartagena, and even landed in its neighbourhood. On the 20th of October two frigates were sent out thence, in hopes of decoying him into the harbour. He burnt one and sunk the other, within sight of two armed ships despatched to take him, and then retired without waste of powder. On the 3rd of November, says the quaint narrator, "we espied a sail plying to the westward to our great joy, who vowed together that we would have her, or it should cost us dear. Bearing with her, we found her to be a Spanish ship of above 90 tons, which, being hailed by us, despised our summons and shot off

her ordnance at us. The sea went very high, so that it was not for us to attempt to board her, and therefore we made fit small sail to attend upon her and keep her company, to her small content, till fairer weather might lay the sea. We spent not past two hours in our attendance, till it pleased God, after a great shower, to send us a reasonable calm, so that we might use our pieces and approach her at pleasure, in such sort that in short time we had taken her, finding her laden with victual, well powdered and well dried, which at that present we received as sent us of God's great mercy."

Drake's God was not altogether merciful. His brother John was killed, in November, in a fight with a Spanish frigate, and his other brother Joseph died, in the following January, of a disease brought on by drinking brackish water.* By the 3rd of February, twenty-eight of his seventy-three comrades had died in one way or another.

On that day Drake started on a famous land adventure. With seventeen Englishmen and thirty Symerons he began to journey towards Panama, on the south side of the Isthmus of Darien, the rich capital of the district fitly named Castila del Oro, or Golden Castile. On the road he attempted to waylay a treasure-party pro-

* "That the cause might be better discerned, and consequently remedied to the relief of others, by our Captain's appointment, he was ripped open by the surgeon, who found his liver swollen, his heart as it were sodden, and his guts all fair. This was the first and last experiment that our Captain made of anatomy in this voyage."—SLOANE MS.

ceeding to Nombre de Dios; but one of his men, being drunk, made so much noise that the Spaniards were alarmed too soon, and the Englishmen had to save themselves with some rough fighting, which they carried up to the gates of Venta Cruz, and ended by sacking that town. Shortly afterwards he met another treasure-party, which he successfully attacked and robbed of 300 pounds of silver and some bars and wedges of gold. This booty, however, was soon lost. Drake buried it in the sand, intending to pick it up on his return; but one of his followers, having been taken by the Spaniards, was compelled by torture to reveal the hiding-place, and so it was restored to its rightful owners.

Yet this expedition had a memorable issue. In 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, wandering among the steep mountains of the Isthmus of Darien, had ascended one of the highest, and thence obtained that view of the Pacific Ocean, the first enjoyed by Europeans, which had been a great incentive to the Spanish conquest of South America and treasure-seeking along the shores of the Southern Sea. Just sixty years afterwards Drake was led by his Symeron friends to what appears to have been the same mountain, at the summit of which was "a goodly and great high tree," revered by the natives, and twisted, at its upper part, into "a convenient harbour, wherein twelve men might sit." He ascended it and beheld the Pacific, and then, says the old historian, who probably invented for Drake the melodramatic imitation of Vasco Nuñez's behaviour, "being influenced with ambition of glory and hopes of

wealth, he was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that falling down there upon his knees, he implored the Divine assistance that he might, at some time or other, sail thither and make a perfect discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow.”*

That resolution may have hastened Drake's return to England. After an absence of two or three months, he went back to his little settlement on the Gulf of Darien, and, loading his bark and pinnaces with the abundant treasure that he had collected, set sail in June. After a prosperous voyage he entered Plymouth Harbour on Sunday, the 9th of August, 1573. It was sermon-time when the news of his arrival got abroad, and we are told that all the congregation hurried out of church to welcome him, “all hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious Queen and country, by the fruit of our captain's labour and success.”

He was not welcomed by his fellow-townsmen of Plymouth alone. All praised him for his successful enterprise against the Spanish colonies, and none blamed him for the lawless ways in which that enterprise had been often carried through. In his eight-and-twentieth year, Drake found himself rich in fame as well as in money. He had not succeeded in his raid on Nombre de Dios, and in some other treasure-winning projects he had failed; yet, as we are told, “he had gotten a pretty store of money, by playing the seaman and the pirate.”†

* CAMDEN, *Annals*, p. 249.

† *Ibid.*

His piracy must be judged by sixteenth-century principles of morality ; his seamanship by a standard of courage that is unchangeable.

The many kindred undertakings which were contemporaneous and subsequent to this famous voyage need not here be chronicled. It will suffice briefly to describe one which may at the same time afford further illustration of the hatred growing among Englishmen against Spain and all Spaniards, and show how grievous was the failure which came to enterprises conducted by men who had no share in the wit and prowess possessed by Drake.

The manager of this particular enterprise was Andrew Barker, a merchant of Bristol. Having successfully traded for some years with the Canaries, a cargo belonging to him, worth nearly 2,000*l.*, was, in 1575, seized by the Inquisition. Knowing that "no suit prevaieth against the Inquisition of Spain," Barker determined to reimburse himself by a season of piracy in the Spanish Main, after the method made famous by Drake. He accordingly fitted out two barks, the *Ragged Staff*, in which he himself went as captain, with Philip Roche for master, and the *Bear*, entrusted to Willian Coxe. He left Plymouth early in June, 1576, and proceeded by way of Cape de Verde to the Spanish Main. At Trinidad he had some trade with its Indian inhabitants. At Margarita he captured a small Spanish ship ; and in the Gulf of Darien, fifty miles beyond Cartagena, he seized a larger ship, containing 500*l.*'s worth of gold and silver, and, among other treasure, "certain green

stones called emeralds, whereof one, very great, being set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh of a friar." A third Spanish vessel was taken near Veragua, and to it were transferred the crew of the *Ragged Staff*, which was no longer seaworthy and had to be sunk. Barker could hardly so dispose of those of his comrades who were unseaworthy; but he quarrelled and fought with them. In a duel with Roche, at Veragua, he was wounded in the cheek; and in the Bay of Honduras he was also wounded in another duel. The crew of the *Bear*, turning mutinous in a body, took him out of his own ship and placed him, with those who still supported him, upon the island of San Francisco. They promised to take him on board again, on his agreeing to their terms; but before that could be done a party of Spaniards landed secretly at San Francisco, and killed Barker and eight other Englishmen. Thereupon Coxe took the command of the expedition. The *Bear* being unfit for further service, he caused it to be sunk, and built a new frigate in the Bay of Honduras. This alone returned to England, the Spanish frigate, in which was most of the booty, having been wrecked with more than half of its crew. "Divers of our company, upon our arrival at Plymouth," says one of the party, "were committed to prison at the suit of Master John Barker, of Bristol, brother unto our captain, Master Andrew Barker, as accessories to our captain's death and betrayers of him unto the enemy; and, after straight examination of many of us, by letters of direction from her Majesty's Privy Council, the chief male-

factors were only chastised with long imprisonment, where indeed, before God, they had deserved to die; whereof some, although they escaped the rigour of men's law, yet could they not avoid the heavy judgment of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends."*

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 528—530.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VOYAGES OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE AND THOMAS CAVENDISH TO THE
SOUTHERN SEA AND ROUND THE WORLD.

[1575—1593.]

CAPTAIN FRANCIS DRAKE had no sooner returned from his successful expedition to the Spanish Main than he began to plan a new voyage in the direction of the Southern Sea, of which he had had a distant view in 1573. But "he was prevented from setting forth," according to his old biographer, "partly by secret envy at home, and partly by being employed in his prince and country's service in Ireland."* The report of his daring insults to the Spaniards probably led Queen Elizabeth to forbid at any rate immediate renewal of his distant voyaging, and to give him work which was less likely to bring her into trouble with foreign powers. In the autumn of 1573, by the Queen's permission, we are told, "he furnished, at his own proper expense, three frigates with men and munition, and served voluntary in Ireland under Walter, Earl of Essex, where he did excellent service both by sea and land, at

* PRINCE, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 487.

the winning of divers strong forts.”* About that “excellent service,” which must have been fierce butchery at the best, we have no precise details. It was of short duration, as the Earl of Essex’s Quixotic attempt at the colonization of Ulster was short-lived. After a year or two of Irish adventure, Drake appears to have spent another year or two in attendance at Court, where, as the favourite of Queen Elizabeth’s new favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton, and as a humble sharer in the royal smiles, he was able to lay the foundations of his future advancement.

For four years, at any rate, though he was “privately brooding over his new design,” he was not openly active in its furtherance; and through that delay his project was in part anticipated by one of his most zealous followers in the exploits of 1572 and 1573. John Oxenham had not only distinguished himself in the raid upon Nombre de Dios; he had also been Drake’s chosen companion in ascending the tree on the mountain-summit in Castila del Oro whence the Pacific Ocean had been seen, and when Drake had vowed that one day he would sail thereon, “if it would please God to grant him that happiness,” Oxenham had declared that, unless he were forcibly hindered, “he would follow him by God’s grace.” To this resolution he adhered, after their return to England, until, says the old biographer, “having waited Drake’s leisure for two years, and not knowing how much longer it would be, if at all, ere his occasions would permit him so to do, he thought him-

* Stow, *Annals*.

self disobliged from his promise; and so he undertook something himself.”*

In the Spanish Main, under Drake, says the same biographer, Oxenham “had gotten among the seamen the name of captain for his valour, and had privily scraped together a good store of money.” In 1575, he put both money and name to good use in fitting out a small expedition for piracy and searching in the Southern Sea. In a ship of 140 tons burthen, with seventy men on board, he sailed to the shores of the Isthmus of Darien, westward of Nombre de Dios. There he entered a narrow creek, and, drawing his ship on the shore, covered it and his provisions and great guns with boughs. With the crew and six Symeron guides he crossed the Darien mountains and, by the side of a stream running into the Pacific, built a little pinnace, “which was five-and-forty foot by the keel.” Thus he was able, first of Englishmen, to sail on the Pacific Ocean. He proceeded to the Pearl Islands, there to watch for Spanish treasure-ships on their way to Panama. After ten days’ waiting he captured a small bark, bringing 60 pounds of gold from Quito and an abundance of food, which was of more present value than the gold. Six days later he seized another little vessel, coming from Lima with 100 pounds of silver among its stores. He also found a few pearls on the Pearl Islands. Then he returned to the river in the Bay of Panama whence he had started, and dismissed the captured barks.

* PRINCE, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 487.

Then good fortune left him. Immediately after his departure from the Pearl Islands the Indians sent information to Panama of his presence in the Southern Sea. Four barks and a hundred soldiers were thence despatched under Juan de Ortega to search for him, and they met the Spanish vessels which had just been let loose from the mouth of the river. Thither Ortega at once went. He followed Oxenham up the river and, after searching for four days, found his pinnace lying on the shore, with six Englishmen in charge of it. In a scuffle with them one was killed, and the other five ran off to tell Oxenham of the danger. It seems that the Englishmen had quarrelled about the spoil they had won. Oxenham wished without delay to take it back to the ship on the other side of the Isthmus, and there store it for future division. Some of his followers claimed their shares at once, and the dispute was only settled by its being temporarily lodged in a hut half a league from the spot where the pinnace had been left; and there, while Oxenham was a little way off, Ortega found it. A fight ensued in which, with loss of seven of his own men, Ortega killed five and captured eleven of Oxenham's, putting the rest to flight. With some difficulty and without their treasure, these made their way back to the place in which they had concealed their ship. But the Spaniards in Nombre de Dios, informed from Panama of Oxenham's movements, had discovered and seized it. With only such refuge as the Symerons could give them, many of them ill and others faint-hearted, with little food and less material for fight-

ing or working, Oxenham and his fifty men had to wander about until they could find some way of improving their forlorn condition. This they never found. A hundred and fifty soldiers were sent from Nombre de Dios in search of them and, with the assistance of some Negroes or Symérons, they were soon captured and taken to Panama. Oxenham was asked if he had Queen Elizabeth's authority for entering the dominions of the King of Spain. Being able to produce none, he and all his followers, with the exception of two or three boys, were executed as pirates. "Thus," says the old historian, "miscarried this great and memorable adventure."*

Its fate was very different from that of the greater and more memorable adventure in which Drake engaged soon after. Whatever "secret envy" and personal ambition had deterred him from it through four years were removed by the summer of 1577, and then Drake applied himself heartily to the carrying out of his old plan. The growing quarrel between England and Spain, weakening every day Elizabeth's fear of too much offending Philip, led her to withdraw her prohibition of the undertaking. It is even said that she openly expressed her approval of it, and gave Drake an implied commission thereto in presenting to him a sword and saying, "We do account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us." At any rate, she offered

* CAMDEN, *Annals*, pp. 251, 252; HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 526, 527; BURNEY, *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea*, vol. i., pp. 295—299.

no opposition to the active preparations which during some months were being openly made, though their precise object was kept secret, for an armed expedition against the possessions of Spain.*

This expedition was fitted out partly at Drake's own expense, partly with the assistance of his friends, Elizabeth herself being one of them. It comprised five vessels; the *Pelican*, to which was afterwards given the famous name of the *Golden Hind*, a ship of 100 tons, commanded by Drake himself, the *Elizabeth*, a bark of 50 tons, under John Winter, the *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tons, under John Thomas, the *Swan*, a fly-boat of 30 tons, under John Chester, and the *Christopher*, a pinnace of 15 tons, under Thomas Moon. The crews of these vessels numbered in all a hundred and sixty-four, officers, sailors, and soldiers; and they were supplied with four pinnaces taken to pieces and adapted for speedy putting together whenever they were needed for use, as well as with "such plentiful provision of all things necessary as so long and dangerous a voyage seemed to require." "Neither did he omit," it was said of Drake, "to make provision for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture—all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging to the cook-room, being of pure silver—with

* *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*; "carefully collected out of the Notes of Master FRANCIS FLETCHER, preacher in this employment, and divers others his followers in the same," and published by Sir Francis Drake, the younger; re-issued, with copious notes and additions from MSS. in the British Museum by the Hakluyt Society (1854) This is my authority for the ensuing details, where no other is cited.

divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among all nations whither he should come, be the more admired."

All these preparations were completed by the 15th of November. On that day Drake started from Plymouth. But a storm which overtook the little fleet near Falmouth did so much damage that it had to be taken back for repairs. A second and successful start was made on the 13th of December. At Mogadore, off the coast of Morocco, Drake halted on the 25th, and there put up one of his pinnaces. There were no people on the island, but the Moors from the mainland crossed over to trade and exchange presents with him. Leaving Mogadore on the last day of the year, he seized three fishing-boats and three caravels, all belonging to the Spaniards, on the way to Cape Blanco, which he reached on the 16th of January. There he dismissed two of the captured fishing-boats, and gave the *Christopher* in exchange for the third, which was a stout little bark of 40 tons burthen. He also released two of the caravels. Four days were passed in trade with the miserable inhabitants of Cape Blanco, who eagerly bartered gums and other valuable commodities for some of Drake's provisions. Near Cape de Verde Islands and the adjoining coast, where Hawkins and other slave-traders had made hateful the name of Englishmen, he was very differently received. All the inhabitants fled on his arrival, first filling the wells with salt and doing all else in their power to hinder

his gaining the refreshment of which he was in need. Refreshment was obtained in that neighbourhood, however, by the capture of a Portuguese ship, laden with wine and other articles. Drake gave to her crew the little pinnace that he had put together at Mogadore, and placed in her twenty-eight of his own men, under the command of Thomas Doughty.

That arrangement was unfortunate. Doughty had only been in charge a few days when he was accused of having purloined some of the Portuguese stores, with intent "to rob the voyage and deprive the company of their hope and her Majesty and other adventurers of their benefit, to enrich himself and make himself greater to the overthrow of all others." Drake, on examination, found in Doughty's possession only a few old coins, a ring, and some other articles of trifling value, which were proved to have been given to him by one of the Portuguese sailors. Thinking that Doughty was thus falsely accused, he placed him in temporary command of his own ship, the *Pelican*, and himself remained for a few days to arrange matters in the prize-ship. In the *Pelican*, however, Doughty fell into fresh disgrace: "he was thought to be too peremptory and exceeding his authority, taking upon him too great a command." Drake had to make a fresh investigation, and the issue of this, though we are not told on what grounds, was Doughty's removal into the *Swan* as "a prisoner, with utter disgrace." Thus were sown the seeds of much future trouble.

In the meanwhile Drake's little fleet was crossing the

Atlantic. Quitting the African coast on the 2nd of February, and crossing the equator on the 17th of the same month, it came within sight of Brazil, about two hundred miles north of the Rio de la Plata, on the 5th of April, sixty-three days having been passed without sight of land. On their approach the ships were seen by the natives of the district, who thereupon, we are told, "made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice to the devils, about which they use conjurations, making heaps of sand and other ceremonies, that, when any ship shall go about to stay upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place, but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men."* Not hindered by the report of those incantations, Drake attempted to land; but he could find no suitable harbour, and he accordingly sailed on to the mouth of the La Plata, where he anchored his ships on the 14th of April. Nearly a fortnight was spent in halting for refreshment and in exploring the river. There and along the more southern coast, seals and ostriches were used as food, greatly to the satisfaction of the voyagers.

On the 12th of May Drake reached the Gulf of Saint George, in Patagonia. On the way thither, seeking vainly for a good place of shelter, he had lost sight of the *Swan* and the Portuguese prize-ship, which had been named the *Mary*. Only this vessel was found during his fortnight's stay in the Gulf of Saint George, and in later coasting both north and south in search

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 732.

of the *Swan*, the *Christopher*—the fishing-bark exchanged for the smaller *Christopher*, to which its name had been transferred—was also lost. The *Mary*, too, soon proved unseaworthy, and had to be unloaded and broken up. Thus the fleet was reduced to three vessels, the *Pelican*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Marigold*, besides the pinnaces.

While coasting up and down Drake made a memorable stay at Port Saint Julian, between the 19th of June and the 17th of August. Both here and in the Gulf of Saint George he came into contact with the aborigines of Patagonia. "Magellan," says the chronicler of the voyage, "was not altogether deceived in naming them giants; for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giant-like as they are reported, there being some Englishmen as tall as the highest that we could see." Later travellers have found that they are hardly as tall as ordinary Englishmen. To early voyagers, however, always looking out for marvels, their curious customs gave a semblance of great height and inordinate bulk. On their bodies they wore little but paint, and they delighted in huge headgear. Their arms and legs were daubed over with different colours: on a white back would be a black sun, and a black stomach would be ornamented with a white moon. Immense and parti-coloured horns, spikes, and the like, were fastened to their crowns. Their manners also were peculiar.

“They fed on seals and other flesh, which they ate nearly raw, casting four or six pounds weight into the fire, till it was a little scorched, and then tearing it in pieces with their teeth like lions, both men and women.” The Patagonians carried on some trade, chiefly in seals and other food, with the English, and showed even too much readiness to imitate their customs. “One of the giants,” we are told, “standing with our men when they were taking their morning draught, showed himself so familiar that he also would do as they did; and, taking a glass in his hand, being strong canary wine, it came no sooner to his lips than it took him by the nose, and so suddenly entered his head that he was so drunk, or at least so overcome, that he fell on his bottom, not able to stand, yet he held the glass fast in his hand, without spilling any of the wine; and when he came to himself he tried again, and, tasting, by degrees got to the bottom. From which time he took such a liking to the wine, that, having learnt the name, he would every morning come down from the mountains with a mighty cry of ‘Wine! wine! wine!’ continuing the same until he arrived at the tent.”

The intercourse with the Patagonians at Port Saint Julian was not wholly either amusing or profitable. On the 20th of June, one of Drake's party, anxious to show his skill in archery to the natives, pulled his bow-string so violently that he snapped it. They, taking fright in some way, immediately wounded him mortally with arrows. Thereupon the only other Englishman on the spot discharged his musket upon the assailants, and

his shot was answered by an arrow, which brought him to the ground. Drake himself, being within sight, then came up, and dispersed the crowd by shooting the ringleader, who died with "so hideous and terrible a roar, as if ten bulls had joined together in roaring." The Patagonians made no fresh attack, and the bodies of the two unfortunate Englishmen were buried "with such honours as in such case martial men use to have when they are dead, being both laid in one grave, as they were both partakers of one manner of death, and ended their lives together by one and the self-same kind of accident."

"To this evil, thus received at the hands of the infidels," adds the narrator, "there was adjoined and grew another mischief, wrought and contrived closely among ourselves, as great, yea, far greater and of far more grievous consequence than the former, but that it was, by God's providence, detected and prevented in time, which else had extended itself not only to the violent shedding of blood, by murdering our general, and such other as were most firm and faithful to him, but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended and to divers other most dangerous effects." The offender, real or fancied, was the same Thomas Doughty, who had been put in charge of the Portuguese prize-ship taken off Cape de Verde. He had been an old acquaintance of Drake's, and a man well esteemed before the departure of the fleet from England. Drake's first liking of him is shown in his appointing him to the care of the Portuguese vessel, and that Drake shared in

the growing opposition to him appears from his sanctioning of his speedy degradation. Then or at some later time he was informed that, even before leaving Plymouth, Doughty had proposed that, as soon as convenient, Drake should be got rid of, and he himself should take command of the whole expedition. Drake is reported to have at first disbelieved this charge, but to have been ultimately convinced. At any rate, a sort of court-martial was held at Port Saint Julian, and by it Doughty was adjudged guilty of mutiny, and condemned to death. According to one account, he confessed his guilt, and, when Drake offered to leave him in Patagonia or to send him back to England in one of the pinnaces, he is said to have chosen a death by which that guilt would in part be expiated. According to another account, "he utterly denied it upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for."* It is not easy to believe that he really was guilty; but it is still harder to believe that Drake, to gratify his own or others' spite—one scandal being that this was done out of compliment to the Earl of Leicester, whom Doughty had accused of murdering the Earl of Essex†—would have sanctioned his punishment without being convinced that it was right and neces-

* Both statements are given in full, with much illustrative matter and much argument in disparagement of Drake, in Mr. VAUX's edition of *The World Encompassed*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1854.

† CAMDEN, *Annals*, p. 251.

sary. At any rate, Doughty was executed at Port Saint Julian with the approval of nearly all his comrades, followed by that of nearly all Englishmen at home when the story was told to them.

Port Saint Julian had only once before been visited by Europeans, the first visit being made by Magellan in 1519. On that occasion, also, a man had been executed for mutiny, and the gibbet used for the purpose was still standing in Drake's time. "Of the wood of which gibbet," says the chronicler, "our cooper made tankards or cans for such of the company as would drink in them; whereof, for my own part, I had no great liking, seeing there was no such necessity."

There was more need of food than of vessels in which to put it. "Our stay being longer than we purposed," it is recorded, "our diet began to wax short, and small mussels were good meat, yea, the seaweeds were dainty dishes. By reason whereof we were driven to seek corners very narrowly for some refreshing, but the best we could find was shells instead of meat. We found the nests, but the birds were gone; that is, the shells of the cockles upon the sea-shore, where the giants had banqueted; but could never chance with the cockles themselves in the sea. The shells were so extraordinary that it would be incredible to the most part; for a pair of shells did weigh four pounds, and what the meat of two such shells might be may be easily conjectured."

Drake left Port Saint Julian on the 17th of August. Three days' quick sailing to the south brought him to

Cape Virgin Mary, at the entrance to the Strait of Magellan. "We found the strait," says one of his comrades, "to have many turnings and, as it were, shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all; by means whereof we had the wind often against us, so that, some of the fleet recovering a cape or point of land, others should be forced to turn back again and to come to an anchor where they could. There be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water, but yet they lack their best commodity; for the water is there of such depth that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks; so that, if any extreme blast or contrary winds do come, whereunto the place is most subject, it carrieth with it no small danger. The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow. The strait is extremely cold, with frost and snow continually. The trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually; and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them."*

Drake was Magellan's first follower in the passage of this dangerous channel. On entering it, "in homage to the Queen's Majesty, he caused his fleet to strike

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 734.

their topsails upon the bunt; and withal, in remembrance of his honourable friend and favourer, Sir Christopher Hatton, he changed the name of the ship which himself went in from the *Pelican* to be called the *Golden Hind*." Sixteen days were spent in traversing it, part of the time being occupied in a little exploration of the islands, and, on one of these islands, in much useful hunting of penguins. Three thousand of these birds were caught in one day. "They have no wings," says the quaint describer of them, "but short pinions, which serve their turn in swimming. Their colour is somewhat black, mixed with white spots under their belly and about their necks. They walk so upright that, afar off, a man would take them to be little children. If a man approach anything near them, they run into holes in the ground, which be not very deep, whereof the island is full; so that to take them we had staves with hooks fast to the end, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and others being with cudgels did knock them on the head, for they bite so cruelly with their crooked bills that none of us were able to handle them alive."* With the human inhabitants of these islands, also, Drake's party had some slight dealings. In the Strait of Magellan, they considered, there was "nothing wanting to make a happy region, but the people's knowing and worshipping the true God."

They were again in the open sea, and Drake's long-cherished project was at length realized, on the 6th of September. He proposed at once to sail northwards,

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 752.

both to relieve his people from the cold which had oppressed them in Magellan's Strait, and to attempt the spoliation of the rich Spanish possessions in Peru, which was a leading object of his voyage; and before the close of the following day he had easily traversed some seventy leagues of water. But then a terrible tempest arose, followed by other storms hardly less violent, in the course of which the ships were driven southwards, below Cape Horn, and westward for more than six hundred miles. Then, on the 30th of September, finer weather returned, though, in the violent winds that still oppressed them, a week was occupied by the *Golden Hind* and the *Elizabeth* in getting back to land, and during that week the little *Marigold* was blown out of sight, never to be again heard of.

Soon Drake was left quite alone with the *Golden Hind*. The two remaining ships, having approached a little bay near to the western opening of Magellan's Strait, on the 7th of October, there sought for shelter, "it being a very foul night, and the seas sore grown." But the *Golden Hind* had only been anchored for a few hours when her cable broke and she was driven out to sea again. Next morning the *Elizabeth* took refuge in the strait, "hardly escaping the danger of the rocks." She waited at the entrance for ten days, and then retired to a sound a little further in, where two weeks more were spent in waiting. At the end of that time, John Winter, her captain, determined to go home. On the 1st of November, we are told, "by Captain Winter's compulsion, full sore against the mariners' minds, they

gave up their voyage." Without much difficulty they made their way back to England, where they arrived on the 2nd of June, 1579, and spread the report that Drake had been wrecked.*

But Drake was fortune's favourite. The storm that took him out to sea on the 7th of October forced him southwards. On the coast of Tierra del Fuego he took shelter for two days, when he was again driven from his anchorage and parted from his brave little pinnace, of four or five tons burthen, which up to this time had clung to the *Golden Hind*. Eight men were on board this pinnace, with only one day's supply of victuals. They struggled on to the last. Four of them were killed by the natives of a little island, whither they went in search of food, and two others afterwards died of wounds received at that time. The pinnace also was wrecked, and the two survivors, after two months' waiting, had to paddle across to the mainland on a single plank, about ten feet long, spending three days in the passage. "On coming to land," says Peter Carder, who has told the story, "we found a rivulet of sweet water; when William Pitcher, my only comfort and companion, although I endeavoured to dissuade him, being before pinched with extreme thirst, overdrank himself and, to my unspeakable grief, died within half an hour, whom I buried as well as I could in the sand." Carder made friends with some Patagonians, lived with them for some years, and returned to England in 1587.†

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 752.

† PUECHAS, vol. iv., p. 1188; BURNEY, vol. i., p. 368.

Drake and the forty or fifty men in the *Golden Hind* thus came to be the only representatives of the fleet that had left England nearly a year before. They began to regret that they had changed the name of their ship, seeing that she was now verily "a *Pelican* alone in the wilderness." Their case indeed seemed desperate. "The violence of the storm without intermission," says the chronicler of the voyage, "the impossibility to come to anchor, the want of opportunity to spread any sail, the most maddened seas, the lee shore, the dangerous rocks, the contrary and most intolerable wind, the impossible passage out, the desperate tarrying there, and the inevitable perils on every side, did present so small a likelihood to escape present destruction that, if the special providence of God Himself had not supported us, we never could have endured that woful state, as being environed with most terrible and most fearful judgments round about."

The series of storms, which lasted almost without intermission for fifty-one days, had, however, one good result. On the 28th of October, the last day of storm, Drake "fell in with the uttermost part of the land towards the South Pole, without which there is no main or island to be seen to the southward, but the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a large and free scope." He landed at the edge of Cape Horn, called by him—in opposition to the old term *Terra Incognita*—*Terra Nunc Bene Cognita*, and, standing upon its farthest limit, was able to boast, as often he

did in later years, that he had been upon more southern land than any other man alive.*

On the 30th of October, having satisfied himself with his exploration of Cape Horn and its neighbourhood, and being at last favoured with fair weather, Drake turned northward. He was anxious to return to the coast of Peru, where, according to the instructions he had given in anticipation of their being parted, he hoped to meet the *Elizabeth*, perhaps also the *Mari-gold*. He found neither, and, on the way past Tierra del Fuego, he was very nearly killed. Landing with a boat's crew of eight at a little island on the way, where he hoped to obtain fresh water, he was, after some show of friendship, fiercely attacked by the natives. Two Englishmen were killed, and every one of the other seven was wounded, Drake himself being struck by arrows under his right eye and on the crown of his head. They had great difficulty in returning to the ship, and regarded as miraculous both that and their subsequent cure; "for," it is said, "our chief surgeon being dead, and the only remaining one absent in the *Elizabeth*, and so being left to the care of a boy who had little experience and no skill, we were little better than altogether destitute of such cunning and helps as so grievous a state of so many wounded bodies did require."

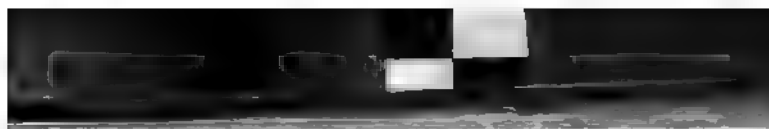
This accident caused some delay; but by the 30th of November Drake had reached the Bay of San Felipe.

* SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, cited by SOUTHEY, vol. iii., p. 142.

He there had friendly intercourse with the natives, and by one of them he was led back, some six leagues, to Valparaiso. At Valparaiso he easily despoiled its two or three dozen Spanish colonists of everything possessed by them which was useful to his ship, and from a Spanish vessel in the port he took a goodly quantity of wine, with some gold, pearls, and other articles. Other booty, and water, which just then was more needed than the richest treasure, he tried to get at Coquimbo on the 19th of December; but there more than a hundred Spaniards were prepared to receive him, and, after losing one man, he retired to a little bay about a hundred miles further north, where there were no Spaniards to quarrel with him.

In that bay he waited for nearly a month, partly to build a new pinnace, partly to watch for his missing ships upon the sea, and to make inquiries concerning them from the Indians on the shore. Departing thence about the middle of January, he proceeded slowly along the coast, still looking for the *Elizabeth* and the *Marigold*, taking a few small prizes, and robbing a few Spaniards in the settlements which he passed. On the 15th of February he reached Callao, the port of Lima, and there had less ignoble exercise of his skill in piracy.

When near the entrance to the harbour, Drake captured a Portuguese bark. He offered to release her, on condition that the captain should safely pilot him into the harbour. This was done at night time, so secretly that he was in the midst of seventeen trading-



vessels before any alarm was given. "The masters and merchants here were most secure," we are told, "having never been assaulted by enemies." Therefore they were quite unprepared for Drake's attack, and the seventeen ships were plundered by him without the loss of even a charge of powder and shot.

The plunder, though valuable, was not as much as Drake had hoped for, being chiefly silk, linen, and other merchandize. He asked where the silver was lodged, and was informed that part of it still lay in the strong house in the town, but that a goodly store had lately been despatched to Panama in a large treasure-ship, "the great glory of the Southern Sea," named the *Cacafuego*. Thereupon, cutting the cables of the ships he had just rifled, in order to hinder them in any pursuit that might be attempted, he hurried off before morning in quest of the *Cacafuego*. Ten days were spent in eager pursuit. From one Spanish vessel which they met, but did not choose to waste time in despoiling, they heard that the treasure-ship had been seen three days before. Another vessel which was spoken with had passed her two days before. Drake saw that he was gaining on her, and used every effort to overtake her before she could reach Panama. He promised his chain of gold to the man who should first descry her. At length, on the 25th of February, sixty or seventy miles north of the equator, and within two days' sail of Panama, his object was gained. It was even facilitated by a mistake made by the captain of the *Cacafuego*. Seeing a vessel behind him, he slackened

speed, intending to ask her destination, and to offer her protection. He had no suspicion that the *Golden Hind* could belong to any nation but his own. Drake, however, soon undeceived him. Approaching the *Cacafuego*, he challenged her to submit. The astonished captain asked what he meant thereby. In answer, Drake "shot her mast overboard with a great piece, and, having wounded the master with an arrow, the ship yielded." He took from her an abundance of jewels and precious stones, eighty pounds of gold, twenty-six tons of raw silver, and thirteen chests of silver coin, the whole being valued at little short of 90,000l.*

By this capture, following those at Callao, the *Golden Hind* was filled to the utmost with valuable property. Drake had made as much profit by piracy in the Southern Seas as was possible with the tonnage to which his expedition had been reduced. According to the plan with which he had left England, it was now his business to return to it as quickly and easily as he could. But he found that there was no quick or easy way open to him. Toilsome and perilous as his outward voyage had been, the toil and peril of the homeward voyage would necessarily be very much greater. The Spanish colonists and traders along nearly the whole western side of South America, whom he had hitherto taken by surprise, would now be watching and planning for his overthrow. He was therefore induced to take a new course.

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 734, 735, 746—748; HERRERA, cited by SOUTHEY, vol. iii., pp. 147—157.

Little inducement from fear was needed where there was a prospect of fresh glory ; and the project which seems now first to have occurred to him promised glory without limit if it could be successfully accomplished. When he started on his expedition, England was full of interest in the scheme, to which Frobisher's three famous voyages had been devoted, for reaching the Indies by sailing along the northern limits of America, from east to west. Drake considered that the work in which Frobisher had failed would be excellently done by him, if, after sailing up to the north-western corner of America, he could reach home by sailing round its northern shores, from west to east. Accordingly, as soon as the plundered *Cacafuego* had been dismissed, somewhere near the equator, and not far from the Galapagos Islands, he announced his project to his hardy little crew, now numbering about fifty men. "All of us," says one of the number, "willingly hearkened to our General's advice, which was, first, to seek out some convenient place to trim our ship, and store ourselves with wood and water and such provisions as we could get ; and, thenceforward, to hasten on our intended journey for the discovery of the said passage, through which we might with joy return to our longed homes."

That bold resolution having been taken, Drake sailed due north, leaving Panama on his left, towards the coast of Nicaragua. Reaching a convenient bay in that neighbourhood on the 16th of March, he spent a week or ten days in making preparations for their pro-

jected voyage, and seeing that the *Golden Hind* was fit to enter upon it. Then, plundering a few ships that came in his way, and stopping once to ransack a Spanish settlement in the Gulf of Tehuantepec, he proceeded with all possible speed upon his new enterprise. Quitting the Mexican coast on the 16th of April, he sailed westward into the open sea for some fifteen hundred miles, and thence, for about two thousand, in a northern direction. He was thus, on the 2nd of June, brought very near to the most northern shore of California, in 42 degrees of latitude. But on that day a sudden change of temperature so frightened many of his followers, who appear to have already grown tired of the prospect, that he was forced to abandon his projected Arctic voyaging. "The night following," says one of the number, evidently exaggerating, "we found such an alteration of heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did grievously complain thereof; some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby. Neither was it that this chanced in the night alone; but the day following carried with it not only the marks, but the stings and force of the night going before. Our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up; and our ropes and tacklings in a few days were grown to that stiffness that what three men before were able to perform now six men, with their best strength and utmost endeavours, were hardly able to accomplish, whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were

possessed with a great mislike and doubt of any good to be done that way."

It is clear that the sailors, accustomed to exciting piracy in tropical waters, were weary of their monotonous sailing in a colder region, and therefore made much of a trifling spring-frost: other than trifling it could not be, in the same latitude as New York, on the 3rd of June. Drake did his best to encourage them, and addressed arguments that strengthened their faint hearts for a few hours. "As well by comfortable speeches of the Divine Providence and of God's loving care over His children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own cheerful example," we are told, "he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to acquit themselves like men to endure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory, that every man was thoroughly armed with willingness, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way."

The willingness and the resolution lasted for two days, and took them very nearly up to Vancouver's Island. "The 5th day of June," says the fear-stricken chronicler, "we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with; where we were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us; which, if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there

followed such vile, thick, and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came that there was no dealing or resisting against them. In this place was no abiding for us, and to go further north the extremity of the cold—which had now utterly discouraged all our men—would not permit us.”

Very much to the satisfaction of Drake's crew and, though very much to his own annoyance, doubtless in the end to the good of all, a strong and steady north wind set in, and “commanded them to the southward, whether they would or no.” In the course of twelve days they traversed nearly seven hundred miles of coast-line, and on the 17th of June “it pleased God to send them into a fair and good bay,” which appears to have been what is now the harbour of San Francisco.

There Drake remained five weeks, repairing some damage that had been done to his ship, and having much friendly intercourse with the natives. After two days of cautious exchanging of presents and other tokens of mutual kindness, the English, who were in tents, with their ship on dry land, saw, with some fear, that the Indians were gathering in the distance in large numbers. “Presently,” says our chronicler, “came down from the country a great multitude, and among them a man of goodly stature and comely personage, who was the King himself, accompanied by many tall and warlike men. Before his Majesty advanced, two ambassadors presented themselves to the General to



announce his approach, and continued speaking for about an hour, at the end of which the Hioh, or King, making as princely a show as he possibly could, with all his train came forward; in the course of which they cried continually, after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. As they drew nearer and nearer unto us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions." The "comeliness and gravity" were of a curious sort. The men sang and danced as they approached; the women "tore themselves till the face, breasts, and other parts were bespattered with blood." As they bore no arms, save a few quaintly-ornamented clubs hanging from the necks of the chief persons, Drake made no opposition to their coming. "Then they made signs to our General to have him sit down. To whom, both the King and divers others made several orations, or rather, indeed, if we had understood them, supplications that he would take the province and kingdom into his hand and become their king and patron, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title in the whole land and become his vassals; which, that they might make us indeed believe that it was their true meaning and intent, the King himself, with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with chains, and, offering unto him many other things, honoured him with the name of Hioh. They added thereto, as it might seem, a song and dance of triumph, because they were not only visited of the gods, for so

they still judged us to be, but that the great and chief god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselves were become the only happy and blessed people in the world. Which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore, in the name and to the use of her Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country in his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home."

To the district of which he was thus crowned king, Drake gave the name of New Albion. He little thought that in its precincts, hidden only by a thin coating of earth, was Californian gold rivalling in value the fancied wealth that Spaniards sought for and all Europe craved after, in the fabled El Dorado of the south.

King Drake, during the ensuing month, saw much of his Indian subjects. "They are a people of a very tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery," we are told. "Their bows and arrows would do no great harm, being weak, and fitter for children than for men; and yet the men were so strong of body, that what two or three of our people could scarcely bear, one of them would take upon his back, and, without grudging, carry it up hill and down hill an English mile together." The women, who wore clothes, while the men went nearly naked, were praised for being "very obedient and serviceable to their husbands." "The common sort of the people," says another of the



voyagers, "leaving the King and his guard with our General, scattered themselves, together with their sacrifices, among our people, taking a diligent view of every person; and such as pleased their fancy, which were the youngest, they, enclosing them about, offered their sacrifices unto them, with lamentable weeping, scratching and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nails, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signs to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom only they ought to worship. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them. Yet they could not long be absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the hour of our departure; which departure seemed so grievous unto them that their joy was turned into sorrow. They entreated us that, being absent, we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked."*

Drake left New Albion and the coast of America on the 23rd of July. Having been hindered, seven weeks before, by contrary winds and the fears of his sailors from pursuing his design of going home by the icy seas to the north of North America, he determined to follow the lead of Magellan, and circumvent the world by passing through the Southern and the Indian Seas into the Atlantic Ocean. This he did in exactly a year, and with skilful and heroic seamanship, which rivalled, if it did

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 441, 442.

not surpass, that shown by Magellan ; but it was not marked by many very memorable incidents.

After sixty-eight days of straight and quick sailing, he reached what seem to have been the Pelew Islands, in Polynesian waters, on the 30th of September. These, from the way in which he was treated by the natives, he called the Islands of Thieves. He sighted the Philippines on the 16th of October, and the Moluccas on the 3rd of November. There he made a famous beginning of English intercourse with the East Indies. He was preparing to anchor at Tidore, when some natives, who could speak Portuguese, came in a boat to tell him that the Portuguese tyrants, having been driven out of Ternate, had now settled in Tidore, and that, if he would go to the former place, its King would join him in altogether expelling their common enemies from the East. Drake had had fighting enough since he left England, and now only wished to reach home safely and quickly. But he went to Ternate and exchanged courtesies with its King.

Of this King's state and costume, which was all that, during their hasty visit, the English were able to observe closely, we have ample details. "Four great and large canoes" were sent out to meet him, "in every one whereof were certain of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawn of cloth of Calicut, having over their heads, from the one end of the canoe to the other, a covering of thin perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds for the same use, under which every one did sit in his order, according to his

dignity ; divers of whom, being of good age and gravity, did make an ancient and fatherly show. There were also divers young and comely men attired in white, as were the others. The rest were soldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides ; without whom sat the rowers in certain galleries, which, being three on a side all along the canoes, did lie off from the side thereof three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower than another, in every of which galleries were the number of fourscore rowers. These canoes were furnished with warlike munition, every man, for the most part, having his sword and target, with his dagger, besides other weapons, as lances, calivers, darts, bows and arrows ; also every canoe had a small cast cannon mounted at the least one full yard upon a stock set upright." These messengers conducted Drake into the harbour on the same evening, and there he sumptuously entertained the King of Ternate. Next morning, himself staying on shipboard, he sent some of his followers to Court. "The King being yet absent, there sat in their places sixty grave personages, all which were said to be of the King's Council. There were besides four grave persons, apparelled all in red down to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turks ; and these were said to be Romans,* and liegers there to keep continual traffic with the people of Ternate. There were also two Turks, liegers in this place, and one Italian. The King at last came in, guarded with twelve lances,

* This is probably a misprint. They were evidently traders from some Asiatic state.

covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome and entertain them. He was attired after the manner of the country, but more sumptuously than the rest. From his waist down to the ground was all cloth of gold, and the same very rich. His legs were bare, but on his feet were a pair of shoes made of Cordovan skin. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links whereof were great and one gold double. On his fingers he had six very fair jewels, and, sitting in his chair of state, at his right hand stood a page with a fan in his hand, breathing and gathering the air to the King. The fan was in length two foot, and in breadth one foot, set with eight sapphires, richly embroidered, and knit to a staff three foot in length, by which the page did hold and move it.”*

More important than these exhibitions of wealth was a treaty for trade and mutual protection which Drake made, on behalf of Queen Elizabeth, with the King of Ternate. He did not take much account of it; but in later years it became a famous precedent for English commerce with the East.

The *Golden Hind*, with plenty of fresh provisions and some cloves, the first bought by Englishmen in the Moluccas, left Ternate on the 9th of November. On the 11th she halted at a little island eastward of Celebes, and there four weeks were spent in strengthening her for the long sea voyage which was to bring her

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 739, 740.



back to England. All that strength was needed on the 9th of January, 1580, when, after more than three weeks of rough beating about among the dangerous currents and more dangerous shoals in the neighbourhood of Celebes, she struck on a rock. "Here," says the quaintest of all quaint historians, "they struck; having ground too much and yet too little to land on, and water too much and yet too little to sail in. Had God, who, as the wise man saith, holdeth the winds in His fist, but opened His little finger and let out the smallest blast, they had undoubtedly been cast away. But there blew not any wind all the while. Then they, conceiving aright that the best way to lighten the ship was first to ease it of the burthen of their sins by true repentance, humbled themselves by fasting under the hand of God. Afterward they received the communion, dining on Christ in the sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with him in Heaven. Then they cast out of the ship six pieces of great ordnance, threw overboard as much wealth as would break the heart of a miser to think on't, with much sugar, and packs of spices; making a caudle of the sea round about. Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift indeed, and it pleased God that the wind, formerly their enemy, became their friend."* Perhaps it would have been more devout to have prayed before working, but Drake and

* FULLER, *Holy Shide*, p. 127. Fuller's version is not quite correct in the details. Drake threw overboard eight, not six guns, and certainly sacrificed no part of his golden cargo.

his comrades knew when to be pious and when to be prudent. Yet in this case neither piety nor prudence helped them. Their ship stuck fast in spite of both, until at low tide, by a lucky accident, she slipped off the rock and floated in fair water.

Saved from that imminent peril, they endured no other throughout the remainder of their voyage. After refreshing themselves at Java and another island in the East Indian archipelago, they crossed the Indian Ocean, and, with rare freedom from storms, passed the Cape of Good Hope, which they considered "a most stately thing, and the fairest cape they had seen in the whole circumference of the earth."* Then they traversed the western coast of Africa, calling at Sierra Leone for two days; and at length, on the 26th of September—"which," says the chronicler, "was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home, but in our computation was the Lord's day or Sunday"—they anchored in Plymouth Harbour.

There were no bounds to the joy of Drake's fellow-townsmen, who, from John Winter's report of his disappearance near Magellan's Strait, had learnt to think of him as long since dead, when he once more trod their streets and talked with them of his exploits and escapes. But he only remained in Plymouth a few days. In his little *Golden Hind* he hastened up to Deptford, and there, leaving the ship in safe keeping, proceeded to make personal report of his achievements to Queen Elizabeth, then keeping Court at Richmond. It appears

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 741.

that he was not at once permitted to make this personal report. "The people generally," it is recorded, "with exceeding admiration, applauded his wonderful long adventures and rich prize;" but "the Queen paused," and statesmen and courtiers, following her instructions, likewise held aloof.*

There was good reason for this, and no unkindness to Drake in it. Early in the year there had been great stir in the law courts and among diplomatists about the comparatively small quantity of treasure taken from the Portuguese by Drake, which Winter had brought home in the *Elizabeth*. The Portuguese ambassador had angrily claimed restitution, and restitution had only been withheld through the convenient tardiness of the Court of Admiralty.† And now Drake had come home with fifty times as much treasure, acquired by piracy upon Spanish ships and in Spanish waters. The Spanish ambassador stormed and raged, demanded instant punishment of Drake, and immediate compensation for his evil deeds.‡ Elizabeth had learnt to think lightly of Spanish threats and Spanish claims. She saw that war with Spain was inevitable, and was, in her own slow way, and according to the scanty powers of her Exchequer, steadily preparing for it. But there were many weighty reasons for avoiding an immediate rupture, and she considered that an immediate rupture would very likely follow her public approval of Drake's pro-

* STOW, *Annals*, p. 807.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxxxix., Nos. 5, 24.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. cxliv., No. 1.

ceedings. Therefore she and her statesmen allowed it to go forth that they "misliked and reproached him," and that arrangements were being made for "all possible disgraces against the master thief of the unknown world."* She gave orders on the 24th of October, only a few days after his arrival at Deptford, that all the treasure he had brought home was to be sent up to London, and be placed in the Tower for safe keeping, for equitable distribution in due time among its proper owners.†

That much was made public. It was kept private that this arrangement was made with the full concurrence of Drake himself, and that from the treasure, before its removal to London, 10,000*l.*'s worth was to be left in Drake's hands, "the leaving of which sum in his hands was to be kept most sacred to himself alone."‡

Thus, though it was prudently kept secret, Queen Elizabeth's implied approval of Drake's conduct was prompt and clear. It was soon shown yet more clearly in public. Her special reasons for keeping on good terms with Spain soon became less urgent, and then, when the Spanish ambassador again made claim for Drake's punishment and the restitution of his prizes, she haughtily replied, "that the Spaniards, by their ill-treatment of her subjects, to whom, contrary to the law of nations, they had prohibited commerce, had drawn these mischiefs upon themselves; that Drake should be

* STOW, p. 807.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxliii., No. 30; vol. cxliv., No. 17.

‡ *Ibid.*

forthcoming to answer according to law, if he were convicted by good evidence and testimony of having committed anything against law and right; and that the goods in question were purposely laid by that satisfaction might be made to the Spaniards, although the Queen had spent a greater sum of money than Drake had brought in against those rebels whom the Spaniards had raised and encouraged against her, both in Ireland and in England.* And Queen Elizabeth herself was then no longer backward in showing that she considered Drake had both law and right on his side. On the 4th of April, 1581, she went down to Deptford, there to be entertained by him at a sumptuous banquet on board the *Golden Hind*, and on that occasion knighted him for his famous prowess and its famous consequences.† That was a signal for universal heaping of favour upon him. Cautious statesmen and jealous courtiers forgot their caution and their jealousy in the

* CAMDEN, *Annals*, p. 255.

† STOW, p. 807. The *Golden Hind*, by Queen Elizabeth's orders, was preserved at Deptford, till it could be preserved no longer, "for a monument to all posterity of that famous and worthy exploit of Sir Francis Drake." It was afterwards taken to pieces, and the best parts of the wood were made into a chair, and lodged in the University of Oxford; whereupon Cowley wrote these lines:—

"To this great ship, which round the globe has run,
And matched in race the chariot of the sun;
This Pythagorean ship, (for it may claim,
Without presumption, so deserv'd a name,)
By knowledge once, and transformation now,
In her new shape this sacred port allow.
Drake and his ship could ne'er have wished from fate
A happier station or more blest estate;
For lo! a seat of endless rest is given
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven."

utterance of his praises. Merchants and men of science applauded him as one of the greatest friends of commerce and promoters of geographical knowledge ever sent to bless the world; and every English patriot thanked God that so mighty a champion of his country's honour, so daring a punisher of foreign insolence, had been suffered to rise up among them.*

The admiration with which Drake's skill and prowess were regarded was in no way lessened by the great pecuniary gains attendant upon them. Besides the 10,000*l.* secretly reserved for Drake, and the great quantity of jewels, precious stones, and other costly articles of which no account is given, the bullion lodged in the Tower was worth about 60,000*l.*; and, after some money had been paid to the Spanish ambassador in partial compensation for the injuries done by Drake to private individuals—which money, being intercepted by Philip II., was used by him in meeting some of the expenses of his war in the Netherlands—the various courtiers and merchants who contributed to the fitting out of the expedition received 4*l.* for every 1*l.* advanced by them.†

* One of the thousand compliments to Drake appeared on the sign-board, long standing, of the Queen's Head Tavern :—

“ O Nature ! to Old England still
Continue these mistakes ;
Still give us for our King such Queens,
And for our Dux such Drakes.”

—BARROW, *Memoirs of the Naval Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, p. 116.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxliv., No. 60; LEWES ROBERTS, *Merchant's Map of Commerce* (1638); BARROW, *Life of Drake*, pp 175–177.

This success, of course, added to the eagerness with which Drake and others applied themselves to projects for carrying on the work of voyaging in the Southern Seas which he had made so famous. He had only been in England a month or two before it was suggested, apparently by Sir Francis Walsingham, to form "a company of such as should trade beyond the equinoctial line," with Drake for its life-governor.* A few months later, in April, 1581, proposals were submitted to Elizabeth's Government for the fitting out of an armed expedition of eight ships and six pinnaces, under Sir Francis Drake, Edward Fenton, and others, which should have for its "first enterprise" the attacking of Spanish galleons in the West Indies and other parts near at hand; and for its "second enterprise" the establishment of her Majesty's right to trade with India and the spice islands in the Indian Archipelago, to which Portugal, now annexed to Spain, had hitherto laid exclusive claim.†

Neither of these enterprises, however, was at once adopted; and in the voyage next undertaken in supplement to Drake's exploits Drake adventured nothing but his money. There was still a show of peace with Spain, and it was not just then thought prudent openly to engage in further defiance of Philip II. Therefore the defiance was entered upon in an underhand way, by the perversion from its original purpose of the voyage by which, as we have seen, it was at first proposed to

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxliv., No. 44.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxlviii., Nos. 43-47.

send Martin Frobisher upon a fourth search for the north-west passage to Cathay.* How or why this original purpose was modified we are not told; but it is easy to understand that, when the failure of Frobisher's three previous voyages was contrasted with the brilliant success of Drake's achievements, the subscribers of 11,600*l.* should prefer to speculate in the new instead of in the old direction, especially when Drake himself had subscribed 1,000*l.*, and was a principal adviser in the undertaking. At any rate, in the revised instructions issued to Frobisher a few weeks before his intended departure, this clause was inserted:—"We will this voyage shall be only for trade, and not for discovery of the passage to Cathay."† Soon after that Martin Frobisher's name was, in the instructions, replaced by that of Edward Fenton, and in the further instructions added thereto, it was oddly said, "You shall take your right course to the isles of the Moluccas for the better discovery of the north-west passage."‡

This voyage was excellent in intention. "We will," it was said in the instructions, "that you deal altogether in this voyage like good and honest merchants, trafficking and exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesy to the nations you shall deal with, as well ethnicks as others; and for that cause you shall instruct all those that shall go with you that, whensoever you or any of you shall happen to come in any place to con-

* See vol. i., pp. 175, 176.

† BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, Otho E. viii., fols. 87-92.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 754-757.



ference with the people of those parts, in all your doings and theirs, you so behave yourselves towards the said people, as may rather procure their friendship and good liking by courtesy than move them to offence or misliking; and especially you shall have great care of the performance of your word and promise to them." They were also "straightly enjoined, as they would answer the contrary by the laws of the land, that, neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, they should spoil or take anything from any of the Queen's friends or any Christians, without paying justly for the same, nor use any manner of violence or force against any such, except in their own defence."*

Catholic Spaniards being looked upon by Protestant Englishmen as neither Queen's friends nor Christians, they easily turned those orders into a licence for piracy against Spain. Fenton himself seems not to have taken that view altogether; but it was the view taken by the most enterprising of his comrades and by the most zealous of his employers. "I wish all the King of Spain's gold in their bellies, to temper the pride of such a tyrant," was the sentiment of one of the principal setters out of the expedition.†

The expedition consisted of four ships, the *Leicester*, with Edward Fenton for admiral, William Hawkins, apparently a nephew of Sir John Hawkins, for lieutenant, and Christopher Hall, Frobisher's old comrade, for master, and a hundred and twenty other officers and

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 754-757.

† BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., Cotton, Otho E. viii., fol. 121.

men; the *Edward Bonaventure*, under Luke Ward, with a crew of eighty-two; the *Francis*, of which John Drake, Sir Francis Drake's brother, was captain, having seventeen sailors; and the *Elizabeth*, under Thomas Skevington, with sixteen sailors.* They left Plymouth on the 1st of June, 1582. On the day of starting began "great grudging and choler," through Fenton's intentional or accidental leaving behind of William Hawkins, John Drake, and some others of the company. They soon overtook the main body of the fleet; but, says Hawkins, "I had not from that time till my coming home any good countenance."† Quarrels and jealousies lasted all through the voyage, and helped to bring it to an early end; although, for any good or honourable issue that it had, it might better have been ended much earlier. Fenton loitered about the African coast, apparently looking out for Spanish prizes but finding none, between the 26th of June and the middle of October. He had been ordered to go round to the East Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. Instead of that he crossed the Atlantic, and on the 1st of December he reached the Brazilian coast. There he loitered about for a further period, until the 24th of January, 1583, when he fell in with three great Spanish ships of 600, 500, and 400 tons burthen respectively.

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Sloane*, No. 2146, fols. 72, 73. A very curious and copious history of this voyage and its preliminaries, from Jan. 14, 1582, by Richard Madox, the chaplain of the *Leicester*, is in the BRITISH MUSEUM among the *Cotton MSS.*, Appendix xlvii.; and *Titus*, B viii., fols. 171-121.

† *Ibid.*, *Cotton*, Otho E. viii., fol. 201.

With these he fought, and they were driven off, with the loss of a hundred or more Spaniards against six or eight Englishmen; but Fenton was not active enough to turn his victory to any advantage. Perhaps this was partly due to the weakness of his own men, many of whom suffered severely from scurvy and other diseases. In the *Leicester* alone about forty died during the voyage, and the sickness was as great in the other ships. He therefore returned to England, sorely against the wishes of his comrades, who openly taunted him with ignorance and cowardice.

On one occasion he told Hawkins, who seems to have been the leader of this half-mutinous opposition, that Sir Francis Drake had only made himself rich and famous by playing the thief and pirate. "Do you think I will?" he added; "nay, I know how to make my voyage without any of your evil advices." "When we come home," answered Hawkins, "if you call Sir Francis thief, I will see how you can justify it; for when we came both forth we were gentlemen alike." Thereto Fenton angrily exclaimed, "Thou shalt not be so good as I so long as thou livest." "What make you of me then?" said Hawkins. "A knave, a villain, and a boy," answered Fenton. "If I were at home, I would not be afraid to follow you in any ground in England," replied Hawkins, anxious, if possible, to keep down his anger; "but here, in this place, for quietness' sake, I let it pass, and will bear every wrong, be it ever so great." "Wilt thou so?" said Fenton. To which Hawkins answered, "Yea, truly." "Then," it is added,

“the General would have drawn his long knife and have stabbed Hawkins; and, intercepted of that, he took up his long staff, and was coming at Hawkins, but the master, Mr. Bannister, Mr. Cotton, and Simon Fernandes stayed his fury.”*

Fortunately that altercation occurred in the Downs, only a few days before the return of the unfortunate and ill-managed fleet on the 29th of June, 1583.† On that day Fenton wrote up to Lord Treasurer Burghley and to the Earl of Leicester to excuse himself and explain the causes of the disasters;‡ but he fell into disgrace, which nothing but his favour at Court prevented from being his utter ruin.

Many other futile attempts were made in later years to follow in Drake's track; and in 1586 an attempt was made, which was by no means futile, by Thomas Cavendish. Cavendish, born about 1556, was the scion of an old Suffolk family, long resident at Trimley Saint Martin, near Ipswich. He is reported in a few years to have squandered most of his patrimony “in gallantry and following the Court.” Then, like many other adventurous noblemen and gentlemen, he took to piracy as a means of money-making.§ He certainly became a

* This is from Hawkins's own report.—BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., Otho E. viii., fol. 205.

† Very full accounts of this luckless expedition are in HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 757–768 (by Luke Ward), and among the BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., Cotton, Otho E. viii., fols. 179–200 (by John Walker, besides the narratives of Hawkins and Madox already cited.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clxi., No. 16; BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., Cotton, Otho E. viii., fols. 157–159.

§ SIR WILLIAM MONSON's *Tracts* in Churchill's Collection,* vol. iii., pp. 368, 369.



fierce and skilful pirate. His first schooling in seamanship was as a volunteer, with a ship of his own, in the expedition led by Sir Richard Grenville, under Sir Walter Raleigh's directions, for establishing the luckless colony of Virginia in 1585.* Having landed the colonists he shared with Grenville in some successful piracy, and, immediately after his return to England, prepared to embark next year in a much greater undertaking, modelled closely upon the example of Sir Francis Drake.

Entirely at his own expense, as it would seem, he fitted out a little fleet which consisted of two vessels built for the purpose, the *Desire*, of 120 tons burthen, and the *Content*, of 60 tons, and of the *Hugh Gallant*, of 40 tons, which had seen some previous service. The crews of the three numbered a hundred and twenty-three persons, and they took with them enough provisions to last two years. John Brewer—who had accompanied Drake in his great voyage, and who was captain of the *Content*, Cavendish himself having command of the *Desire*—was their chief guide and pilot.†

They left Plymouth on the 21st of July, and, after a small fight with five Spanish ships which they met near the coast of Spain on the 26th, proceeded to the African shore. Calling at Sierra Leone, they destroyed one of the Negro towns and took what little spoil they could find, apparently out of mere love of mischief.

* See vol. i., p. 212.

† The following details are derived chiefly from the narrative of Francis Pretty, in HAKLUTT, vol. iii., pp. 803-825.

Then, between the 6th of September and the 1st of November, they sailed across the Atlantic, and on the latter date anchored off Brazil, near the Island of San Sebastian. Halting there to set up a pinnacle, and also at a harbour which they discovered lower down, and called Port Desire, they reached Magellan's Strait on the 6th of January, 1587.

Anchoring for the night at the entrance to the Strait, they saw signal-lights on the shore, and next morning Cavendish went in a boat to see where they were and what they meant. He found that here were twenty-three Spaniards, the miserable remnant of a force of thirty-five hundred that, on the report of Drake's achievements, had gone out to build a fort and oppose the passage of the Strait by any other English ships.

This expedition had been altogether disastrous. Of the twenty-three ships that quitted Seville in September, 1581, under Diego Flores de Valdez as leader of the fleet, and Pedro Sarmiento as governor of the intended colony, five of the largest, with eight hundred men on board, were wrecked almost before the Spanish coast was out of sight. The others were driven back to Cadiz, and two were so much damaged as to be of no further use. The remaining sixteen started again in December, and a hundred and fifty men died of sickness on the way to Rio Janeiro. The survivors, weak and out of heart, stayed in Brazil until November, 1582, while De Valdez and Sarmiento quarrelled as to which of them was master of the expedition during this delay

in the voyage. Another ship had then to be broken up as unserviceable, and before Magellan's Strait was reached another and the largest that remained, containing three hundred and fifty persons and a great quantity of stores, was utterly wrecked. That misfortune so frightened De Valdez that he returned to Brazil, losing yet another ship on the way. There he heard of Fenton's cruising in the neighbourhood, but had neither courage nor power to go in pursuit of him. The three ships which Fenton attacked in January were three which, finding them too rotten to be of further use to him, De Valdez had sent homewards with a cargo of three hundred sick and unserviceable Spaniards. Perhaps it was fear of Fenton that drove those who stayed behind, about a thousand men in ten ships, to proceed at last towards their destination. They started again with this object in January, 1583, and after coming within sight of the Strait were again driven back. Another ship was wrecked, and three were detached with some of the company, who wished to try and work their way separately up to Chili. When De Valdez returned to Brazil and anchored off Rio Janeiro, however, he found there four fresh ships laden with stores that had been sent from Spain with assistance for the colony. With them and with some of his followers he returned to Spain, leaving Sarmiento to make further trial of the colonizing project, with five ships and five hundred and thirty persons. Sarmiento was a somewhat better leader. After wintering in Brazil, he started on the 2nd of December for the

Strait. He reached it on the 1st of February, 1584, and, though deserted on the same evening by the crews of three ships, after the colonists had been landed, he found himself at the head of a company of four hundred men and thirty women. With these he founded a city called Nombre de Jesus on the northern corner of the Strait, and a town of San Felipe a little way in the channel; but in crossing from the one settlement to the other, he was driven out to sea with his ship and a scanty crew by a storm that lasted twenty days. At the end of that term he found that he had been beaten back to the neighbourhood of Rio Janeiro. Some of his followers said that this was according to his wishes. If so, he suffered for his treachery. His ship was wrecked, and when, after long waiting, he was on his way to Spain in another, he was captured by three ships belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh and taken prisoner to London, to be introduced to Queen Elizabeth, who, as he stated, honourably received him, and sent him home with a present of 1,000 crowns.*

That was about the time of Cavendish's departure for the South Sea. The colonists whom Sarmiento left behind had been left to live or die as best they could; and when Cavendish discovered them he found that all had died with the exception of twenty-three or twenty-four, whose life must have been worse than death. "It seemed unto us," says one of the English voyagers, "that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon mussels and limpets; for there was not anything

* BURNET, vol. ii., pp. 45-57.



else to be had, except some deer which came out of the mountains down to the fresh rivers to drink. During the time that they were there, which was two years at the least, they could never have any thing to grow or in any wise prosper. And on the other side, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, until their victuals grew short, so that they died like dogs in their houses and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our coming; until that in the end, the town being wonderfully tainted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remained alive were driven to forsake the town and to go along the sea-side and seek their victuals to preserve them from starving. And so they lived for the space of a year and more with roots, leaves, and sometimes a fowl which they might kill."

The name of this miserable town of San Felipe—he did not visit Nombre de Jesus, but it seems before that time to have come to utter ruin—Cavendish changed into Port Famine. He stayed there several days and took on board one of the miserable colonists, Tomé Hernandez by name. Neither friends nor foes in his own day charged him with any inhumanity in leaving the others to their dismal fate.

The Strait of Magellan was safely passed through by the 24th of February. Cavendish then proceeded northwards in the track of Drake, but with freedom from such storms as made havoc of Drake's fleet. Along the coast of South America, he and his comrades amused themselves with some fighting with the natives.

But they found no Spanish barks or galleons to capture; and when, on the 30th of March, they approached Valparaiso, there to use Hernandez as an agent in treating for the purchase of provisions, their plan came to nothing through the cleverness of Hernandez, who ran away, "notwithstanding all his deep and damnable oaths that he would never forsake them, but would die on their side before he would be false."

Hernandez did worse than that. On the following day, while the English were searching for water and other refreshment a few miles out of Valparaiso, he assisted the Spaniards in attacking them. In some sharp skirmishing twelve Englishmen were killed or taken, apparently without any successful retaliation on the part of their countrymen.

Cavendish sailed northward, vainly seeking for prizes until the 23rd of April, when, near Arica, he captured a small bark, full of wine. The crew escaped in a boat, and the bark, christened the *George*, was added for a short time to the little fleet. On the same day Cavendish seized a larger ship, and another fell into his hands on the 25th of the month; but both these, being nearly empty and of no use, were set on fire. Other prizes then came frequently in his way, and he rivalled Drake for the boldness with which he plundered ships and ransacked towns with a force so small that it was only saved from certain destruction by the rapidity of its movements and the smartness with which it avoided the elaborate efforts made for its overthrow. Unlike Drake, Cavendish was sometimes over bold. Having lost twelve

men at Valparaíso on the 1st of April, he lost twelve more at Puna, an island in the Gulf of Guayaquil, on the 2nd of June. Twenty Englishmen were carelessly searching the district for sheep, fowls, and the like, when a formidable body of Spaniards attacked them with such energy that only eight escaped. This time, however, Cavendish had his revenge. "The selfsame day," says the curt chronicler, glorying in his cruelty, "we went on shore again with seventy men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retire, being a hundred Spaniards serving with muskets and two hundred Indians with bows, arrows and darts. This done, we set fire on the town and burnt it to the ground, having in it to the number of three hundred houses, and shortly after made havoc of their fields, orchards and gardens, and burnt four great ships which were in building on the stocks."

Piracy, which was too brave and romantic as practised by Drake to deserve much blame, wore its proper shape of ugliness in Cavendish's hands. Yet Cavendish was better than many of his fellows. He thought, like Drake, that he was a chosen messenger to pour out the vials of God's wrath upon the devil-inspired Spaniards, and that all the booty he took upon earth was only a foretaste of the heavenly reward which he was earning.

This foretaste was considerable during Cavendish's seven months' cruise in the waters extending from Chili up to Mexico. On the 5th of June, when he set sail from Puna, he found he had not men enough to manage all his ships. Therefore he sunk the *Hugh Gallant*. In

the other two vessels, leaving the Quito and Panama districts to his right, he then proceeded almost in a straight line to the Mexican coast. Near Acapulco he captured, on the 9th of July, two ships, one of which being just as large as the *Desire*, furnished her with a very serviceable supply of new sails and rigging, besides other valuables. On the 23rd of the month he landed at a town called Guatulco, which he sacked before burning its hundred houses. Among the treasure taken were six hundred bags of indigo, worth 40 crowns apiece, and four hundred bags of cocoa berries, worth 10 crowns apiece. "These cocoas," it is said, "go among them for meat and money. A hundred and fifty of them are in value one real of plate in ready payment. They are very like an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste. They eat them, and make drink of them."

At Guatulco, Cavendish brought upon himself the special wrath of pious Catholics by burning a church. The church was very old, and very sacred by reason of a great wooden cross which Saint Andrew was believed to have planted there when he preached Christianity to the Aztecs of Mexico. The story goes that Cavendish, in excess of sacrilegious spite, smeared this cross with pitch and heaped it round with reeds to make it burn the brighter; but that, after the reeds and the pitch had been burning for three days, the Spaniards, returning to their ruined home, found it, not only uninjured, but even shining with a celestial lustre. "The report of its miraculous preservation spread far and wide, and from all parts devotees came to visit it and to carry

away fragments, the smallest splinter of which, if cast into a sea, stilled a tempest; if thrown into a fire, quenched the flames; and, if put in water, changed it into a sovereign medicine. When about a fifth part only was left, the Bishop of Antiguera removed it to his city, built a chapel for it, and enshrined it there with all possible honours.”*

As far as Cavendish was concerned, however, its miraculous powers were used only in its own preservation. Cavendish left Guatulco unharmed, and continued his piracies without restraint. When prizes were not to be found on the sea he went inland in search of plunder, making his name terrible in the district for two centuries to come.

He waited on the coast longer than he had intended, because he heard that a great galleon, the *Santa Anna*, of 700 tons burthen, was expected to arrive with a cargo of spices and other rich treasure from the Philippine Islands. With this vessel he fell in, a little below the northern promontory of California, on the 4th of November. In a sudden effort to board her, he was driven off with a loss of two killed and five wounded men. “But,” says the chronicler, “we new trimmed our sails and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and wounding of many of their men. Their captain still, like a valiant man, with his company, stood very stoutly into his close-fights, not yielding as

* TORQUEMADA, cited by SOUTHEY, vol. iii., p. 264.

yet. Our General, encouraging his men afresh with the whole voice of trumpets, gave them the other encounter with our great ordnance and all our small shot, to the great discouragement of our enemies. They, being thus discouraged and spoiled, and their ship being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or six hours' fight, set out a flag of truce and parleyed for mercy, desiring our general to save their lives and take their goods, and that they would yield presently. Our General, of his goodness, promised them mercy, and called them to strike their sails and to hoist out their boat and come aboard, which news they were full glad to hear of; and presently one of their chief merchants came on board, and falling down upon his knees, offered to kiss our General's feet and craved mercy. Our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest, upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the ship; and he sent for the captain and the pilot, who, at their coming aboard, used the like duty and reverence that the former did. The General, of his great mercy and humanity, promised their lives and good usage."

Cavendish thought that, if he released the *Santa Anna*, she might reach some Spanish port in time to give information, and cause him to be troubled with pursuers. He therefore led her into a bay near by, and there discharged her crew and passengers, numbering a hundred and ninety in all, with a fair allowance of food

and furniture, advising them, in his "great mercy and humanity," to build a new bark for themselves in lieu of the *Santa Anna*, which he partly burnt. Then he proceeded to arrange his booty, consisting of 122 pounds of gold, and of "rich silks, satins, and damasks, with musk and divers other merchandize and great store of all manner of victuals, with choice of many conserves of all sorts for to eat, and of sundry sorts of very good wines." This lasted thirteen days, and was attended with some trouble. "In division of the treasure," we are told, "many of the company fell into a mutiny against our general, especially those in the *Content*, which, nevertheless, were after a sort pacified for the time." As Cavendish sailed out of the harbour, however, on the 19th of November, the *Content* lagged behind, and during the ensuing night was lost sight of for ever. It was supposed that her crew parted from their comrades by design, and attempted to reach England alone. This they never did.

Cavendish, like Drake, was thus left to complete the voyage round the world in a single ship. He performed the rest of the circuit in nearly five months less than the time which had been occupied by Drake. This he was enabled to do not only by use of Drake's experience, but by the assistance of a Spanish pilot whom he had taken from the *Santa Anna*, and who was well acquainted with the passage across the Pacific Ocean and the intricacies of the Indian Archipelago.

On the 3rd of January, 1588, Cavendish arrived at Guahan, one of the Ladrões, where the natives so

troubled him with proposals for trading, that, in the hard spirit that always marked his conduct, he fired at them. "They were so yare and nimble," it is recorded, "that it could not be seen whether they were killed or not, so ready were they at falling backward into the sea and diving." Not stopping to inquire into their fate, he sailed on to the Philippine group, and, on the 15th of January, called at a little island called Capul.

There he was willing to trade, and during nine days he made observations which, when the account of them reached England, greatly encouraged others to follow in his track. Already thriving commerce had been begun by Spaniards and Portuguese with the people of this island and the larger ones adjoining it, with Manila for their head-quarters. The inhabitants were described by one of Cavendish's party as "of great genius and invention in handicrafts and sciences, every one so expert, perfect, and skilful in his faculty, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that they take in hand. For drawing and embroidery upon satin, silk, or lawn, either beast, fowl, fish, or worm, for liveliness and perfectness, both in silk, silver, gold, and pearl, they excel."

On the 23rd of January, Cavendish invited the chiefs of Capul "and of a hundred islands more" to wait upon him on board the *Desire*. They came, bringing tribute in the shape of pigs, poultry, cocoa-nuts, and potatoes, of the sort they had been taught to yield to the Spaniards, for such they thought Cavendish and

his comrades to be. "He then," says the chronicler, "made himself and his company known that they were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards, and thereupon spread his ensign and sounded up the drums, which they much marvelled at. They promised, both for themselves and all the islands thereabout, to aid him whensoever he should come again to overcome the Spaniards. Also our General gave them money back again for all the tribute which they had paid; which they took marvellous friendly, and rowed about our ships, to show us pleasure, marvellous swiftly. At the last, he caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment took their leave of us."

Cavendish's short stay at Capul was marked by one ugly incident. His Spanish pilot had hitherto been very serviceable to him, though his prudent navigation was doubtless caused only by regard for his own safety. In leading the English to the Philippine Islands and acquainting them with the wealth which Spain and Portugal desired to keep to themselves, he was guided only by treachery. No sooner had he arrived than he prepared a letter to the Spanish governor at Manilla, which, if it had not miscarried, would have been almost certain to end in Cavendish's overthrow and the restitution of the treasures he had taken from the *Santa Anna*. His plot, however, was betrayed; and Cavendish, thereupon, "willed that he should be hanged, which was accordingly performed."

On the 28th of January, when near Manilla, Caven-

dish fell in with a Spanish vessel which had lately left that port. His pursuit of her was unsuccessful, and he only captured one Spaniard. Him, after some questioning, he released with a message to the Spanish governor, to the effect that he should come again with ample force in a few years' time, when he should expect the enemies of God and man to have ready an abundant store of wealth for him to seize.

At present he was anxious to get home. He hurried past the Moluccas, near which several of his men sickened, and one died "by reason of the extreme heat and untemperateness of the climate." Sailing north, he reached the eastern side of Java on the 5th of March, and there halted for eleven days, making friends with the natives, and giving his men the rest of which they were in great need. He was highly pleased with the Javans, who were described as "the bravest race in the south-east parts of the globe;" and even more pleased with some Portuguese residents, who, faithful to the cause of Don Antonio, and resenting Philip II.'s aggression in their country, seem to have sought peace and happiness by making Java their home. "They were men of marvellous proper personage," we are told, "each in a loose jerkin and hose, which came down from the waist to the ankle. Because of the use of the country, and partly because it was a time for doing of their penance, they had on each of them a very fair and white lawn shirt with falling bands on the same, very decently, only their bare legs excepted. These Portuguese were no small joy to our General and all

the rest of our company; for we had not seen any Christian that was our friend for a year and a half before. Our General entreated them singularly well with banquets and music. They told us they were no less glad to see us than we to see them, and inquired of the state of their country, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether he were living or no, for they had not of long time been in Portugal, and the Spaniards had always brought them word that he was dead. Then our General satisfied them in every demand, assuring them that their King was alive and in England, and had honourable allowance from our Queen, and that there was war between Spain and England, and that we were come under the King of Portugal into the South Sea, and had warred upon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled, and sunk all the ships along the coast that we could meet withal, to the number of eighteen or twenty sail. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied. They told us that if their King, Don Antonio, would come unto them, they would warrant him to have all the Moluccas at command, besides China, Ceylon, and the Isles of the Philippines, and that he might be sure to have all the Indians on his side. They took their leave with promise of all good entertainment at our return."

Leaving Java on the 16th of March, Cavendish spent two months "in traversing that mighty and vast sea between the island of Java and the main of Africa, observing the heavens, the stars, and the fowls, which are marks unto seamen." He passed the Cape of Good

Hope on the 18th of May, halted at St. Helena from the 9th to the 20th of June, and thence, in eighty-one days of direct sailing, as he said, "God suffered him to return to England." On the 3rd of September, from a Flemish ship which he met not far from Lisbon, he heard, "to his singular rejoicing and comfort," of the great triumph that had been attained by England in the overthrow of the Invincible Armada. The storm which wrought the final ruin of the Armada met him in the English Channel and threatened to wreck his ship, even when home was in sight; but at length on the 9th of September, "by the merciful favour of the Almighty, they recovered their long-wished-for port of Plymouth." Thence Cavendish wrote to Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, requesting him to inform the Queen of his achievements. "As it hath pleased God," he said, "to give her the victory over part of her enemies, so I trust ere long to see her overcome them all; for the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered, and, if it please her Majesty, with a very small power she may take the spoil of them all."*

This was partly done by Queen Elizabeth, and done in yet greater part by her successors. But Cavendish had no further share in the spoil. Having returned to England in the autumn of 1588 with wealth "enough to buy a fair earldom," and with fame which, notwithstanding the turmoil produced just then by other famous achievements, was second only to that of Drake in

* HAKLUYT, vol. iii., p. 873.



1580, for a time he seems to have settled down to the enjoyment of his wealth and fame. When tired of that he entered upon another expedition, the history of which, bringing to a close his brief career, it will be best to detail at once, though in violation of the strict order of chronology.

The expedition was projected early in 1591; and unfortunately, as it happened, Cavendish, wishing that it should be in keeping with other huge enterprises which by that time had become popular, allowed other adventurers to join with him in fitting it out. The arrangements were thus left in unworthy hands, and of the money which Cavendish himself contributed, we are told, a sum of 1,500*l.* was stolen by the agents to whom it was intrusted. "These varlets, whom the justice had before sought with great diligence," says Sir Richard Hawkins, "I saw, within a few days after his departure, walking the streets of Plymouth without punishment." Even without that money, however, a larger fleet was prepared than Cavendish proved able to manage. On the 26th of August, 1591, he sailed out of Plymouth Harbour with three good ships and two barks. The chief of these was the *Leicester Galleon*, the same in which Edward Fenton had made his unfortunate expedition in the same direction nine years before, and which, being the property of the Earl of Leicester, was probably furnished by him as one of the adventurers. Of it Cavendish himself was captain. The others were, his old ship the *Desire*, commanded by John Davis, the famous Arctic navigator, who had just returned from a

voyage to the East Indies as pilot to a Dutch fleet,* the *Roebuck*, under Captain Cook, the *Black Pinnace*, and the *Dainty*, which was contributed by Adrian Gilbert. John Jane, who had accompanied Davis in two of his Arctic voyages, went as merchant and chronicler of the enterprise.† The crews of this expedition numbered nearly four hundred men in all.

It was unfortunate from first to last. The fleet was becalmed for twenty-seven days near the equator, and in consequence many died of scurvy before reaching the coast of Brazil. When near that coast, on the 2nd of December, Cavendish plundered a Portuguese vessel, and, reaching land on the 5th, he pillaged a small settlement near Rio Janeiro. An attack upon Santos, on the 16th, was ruined through the carelessness of Captain Cook; and in consequence the voyagers suffered sorely for want of provisions. Worse trouble came on the way to Magellan's Strait, when, on the 8th of February, the ships were parted by a storm. The little *Dainty* returned to England. The *Desire* and the *Roebuck* reached Port Desire, which had been the meeting-place appointed by Cavendish in case of separation, on the 6th of March. The *Black Pinnace* arrived on the 16th and the *Leicester* on the 18th. All the four ships had suffered greatly, the *Roebuck* and the *Leicester* most of all, and the troubles in the latter ship were aggravated by quarrels that arose between

* See vol. i., pp. 289, 290.

† HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 842—852. This, and a letter from Cavendish to Sir Tristram Gorges (PURCHAS, vol. iii., pp. 1194—2000), are the authorities for the ensuing paragraphs.

Cavendish and his crew. In consequence of them Cavendish removed from the *Leicester* to the *Desire*, soon to quarrel with its crew also. Lacking the energy and perseverance that he showed during his former voyage, he seems to have offended all by his haughty tone, and to have thus greatly helped on the disputes by which the whole enterprise was brought to ruin.

Leaving Port Desire late in March he reached Magellan's Strait on the 8th of April. "Such," he says, "was the adverseness of our fortunes, that in coming thither we spent the summer, and found the Strait in the beginning of a most extreme winter, not durable for Christians." He entered it on the 14th of April, and after a week of slow sailing was brought to a standstill by bad weather. For three weeks the ships had to take shelter in a little bay from, according to Cavendish's statement, "such flights of snow and extremity of frosts as, in all his life, he never saw any to be compared with." "Many of our men," says Jane, "died of cursed famine and miserable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but living by mussels, water, and weeds of the sea, with small relief from the ship's stores of meal sometimes." That suffering begat cruelty. "All the sick men in the *Galleon* were most uncharitably put ashore in the woods, in the snow, rain, and cold, when men of good health could scarcely endure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery."

In this trouble Cavendish went to Davis for advice. Davis, who, after his Arctic experiences, saw no great

hardship in the snow and frost of Magellan's Strait, urged patient waiting till they could pass out into the South Sea, and thence seek warmer waters. Others of the party also desired that they should "stay God's favour for a wind." Cavendish, however, wished to turn back and seek the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope; and, after quarrelling with Davis and all the bravest of his company, he so far prevailed upon them that, aided by a west wind, they passed out of the Strait in three days, and attempted to go to Santos in search of refreshment. But no sooner were they in the Atlantic again than fresh storms arose, by which the *Desire* and the *Black Pinnace* were parted from the *Leicester*, to which Cavendish, after his quarrel with Davis, had returned, and the *Roebuck*. They, also, were separated for a time; but, meeting again, with difficulty took shelter in a bay somewhere south of Rio Janeiro.

Loitering about the coast of Brazil in hopes that Davis would join him, and made desperate by his misfortunes, Cavendish insured his ruin. He sent out marauding parties in search of food, by which his already too scanty crews were utterly wasted. One party of twenty-five was wholly lost. Out of another party of eighty, sent to attack three Portuguese ships at Spirito Santo, thirty-eight were killed and forty were wounded. The survivors quarrelled with him. The crew of the *Roebuck*, regardless of his protestations, set sail for England and were wrecked on the way. Cavendish besought those who stayed with him to make

another attempt at reaching the South Sea. "My persuasions," he says, "took no place with them; but most boldly they all affirmed that they had sworn they would never again go to the Strait; neither by no means would they." At length he consented to go back to England.

On the passage, apparently in July, 1592, he died of a broken heart. Our last view of him is in a pathetic letter to his executor, Sir Tristram Gorges, from which some sentences have been already cited. "Most loving friend," he said, "there is nothing in this world that makes a truer trial of friendship than at death to show mindfulness of love and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of; desiring you to hold my love as dear, dying poor, as if I had been most infinitely rich. The success of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments whereof lie so heavy upon me, as with much pain I am able to write these few lines, much less to make discourse to you of all the adverse haps that have befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death." He did manage, however, to discourse much of his misfortunes. "My greatest grief," he said, after detailing other griefs perhaps as great or greater, "was the sickness of my dear kinsman, John Lock, who by this time was grown in great weakness, by reason whereof he desired rather quietness and contentedness in our course than such continual disquietness, which never ceased us. And now by this, what with grief for him and the continual trouble I endured among such hell-hounds, my spirits were clean spent,

wishing myself upon any desert place in the world, there to die, rather than thus barely to return home again; which course I had put in execution, had I found an island which the cards make to be eight degrees to the southward of the line. I swear to you I sought for it with all diligence, meaning, if I had found it, to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happiness to light upon me, for I could by no means find it; so as I was forced to go towards England, and having gotten eight degrees by north the line, I lost my most dearest cousin. And now consider whether a heart made of flesh be able to endure so many misfortunes, all falling upon me without intermission. I thank my God that, in ending of me, He hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and mishaps." Then he spoke of his private affairs. "I have made my will, wherein I have given special charge that all goods, whatsoever belong unto me, be delivered into your hands. For God's sake, refuse not to do this last request for me. I owe little that I know of, and therefore it will be the less trouble; but if there be any debt that of truth is owing by me, for God's sake see it paid." Whatever was left he assigned to his sister. "To use compliments of love, now at my last breath, were frivolous; but know that I left none in England whom I loved half so well as yourself, which you in such sort deserved at my hands as I can by no means requite. I have now no more to say; and take this last farewell, that you have lost the lovingest friend that ever was lost by any. No more. But, as you love

God, do not refuse to undertake this last request of mine. Bear with this scribbling; for I protest I am scarce able to hold a pen in my hand."

The pen dropped, and the hand dropped, and one of the most truly representative of Tudor Englishmen, bold, brave, strong in love and strong in hate, too zealous in the achieving of any object to which he set himself, to consider whether it was wise, honest, or generous, closed a life that had been attended by some rare circumstances of glory in bitter pangs of grief and broken words of tenderness.

Blaming in that letter nearly all his comrades in his unfortunate voyage, Cavendish blamed John Davis more than most. "That villain," he said, "hath been the death of me and the decay of this whole action. His only intent was utterly to overthrow me, which he hath well performed." There is no evidence of any such intent, and it is altogether inconsistent with everything that we know of Davis's character. When separated from Cavendish by the storm that befel them on passing out of Magellan's Strait, Davis went with all speed to Port Desire, believing that there he would be joined by Cavendish. He waited and watched for nine weeks and more. Then, believing that the *Leicester* and the *Roe-buck* were either lost or had gone, according to Cavendish's plan, towards the Cape of Good Hope, he started with the *Desire* and the *Black Pinnace* in the direction originally appointed. Using well his large experience in seamanship, he had employed the interval in refitting his ships and storing them with salted penguins. He was

thus able to brave the dangers of the Strait, and, after first, on the 14th of August, discovering the Falkland Isles, he traversed it, and entered the South Sea on the 2nd of October.

He was only able to stay in it a week. He fell among storms as great as those by which Drake had been harassed in 1578. On the 4th of October the *Black Pinnace* was wrecked, and on the 5th the *Desire* was barely saved, "the storm continuing beyond all description in fury, with hail, snow, rain, and wind, such and so mighty as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the sea such and so lofty with continual breach that many times they were doubtful whether the ship did sink or swim." The storm lasted for four days more. "The 10th of October," says Jane in his narrative, "being, by the account of our captain and master, very near the shore, the weather dark, the storm furious, and most of our men having given over to travail, we yielded ourselves to death without further hope of succour. Our captain sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some *rosa solis* to comfort him; for he was so cold, he was scarce able to move a joint. After he had drunk and was comforted in heart, he began, for the ease of his conscience, to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and, with many grievous sighs, he concluded in these words: 'O most gracious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech Thee that the intolerable burden of my sins may, through the blood of Jesus Christ, be taken

from me, and end our days with speed, or show us some merciful sign of Thy love and our preservation.'” Hardly had the good man’s prayer been uttered, than, as if in answer to it, the sun broke through the clouds.

Thereby Davis was able to calculate his exact position, and, through that and the following day, there was just enough abatement of the storm to enable him to lead his ship back into the Strait. He sailed through it with great difficulty, and with great difficulty proceeded homewards. He was not troubled by storms alone. In the Isle of Penguins he laid in a store of dried penguins for food during the long voyage, and after a time, we are told, “ugly, loathsome worms of an inch long were bred in them.” “This worm,” it is added, “did so mightily increase and devour our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should avoid famine, but be devoured of the wicked creatures. There was nothing that they did not devour, iron only excepted—our clothes, hats, boots, shirts, and stockings. And for the ship, they did eat the timbers; so that we greatly feared they would undo us by eating through the ship’s side. Great was the care and diligence of our captain, master, and company to consume these vermin; but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased upon us, so that at last we could not sleep for them, for they would eat our flesh like mosquitoes.” This new horror, added to the old ones, drove some of the sailors mad. Many others died; and at length the whole company of the *Desire* was reduced, from the seventy-six men with whom it quitted Ply-

mouth, to sixteen, and of these sixteen only five had strength and wit remaining to enable them properly to work the ship. This, however, they managed to do, and they reached Ireland in June, 1593.

John Davis, as we have seen, made some other famous voyages. He went as pilot in the first Dutch expedition to the East Indies in 1598, and he was second in command of the first expedition fitted out by the English East India Company in 1601.* He died in harness. A trading and piratical enterprise by Sir Edward Michelborne, in rivalry of the East India Company, having received the countenance of King James, Davis was employed in it as captain of the *Tiger*, a ship of 240 tons burthen. The expedition left the Isle of Wight on the 5th of December, 1604, and reached the neighbourhood of Sumatra on the 19th of July, 1605. Five months were spent in trading with the natives of Acheen, Bantam, and other parts, and in chasing Spanish and Portuguese ships in the neighbouring waters. At length, on the 27th of December, Michelborne fell in with a little vessel in which ninety Japanese pirates, having lost their own ship, had taken refuge. For a day or two there was much show of friendship between the two races, and accordingly Davis, who had been ordered to take their weapons from the Japanese when they came into English company, neglected to use this precaution. Thereby he was the first to suffer. The Japanese, anxious to repair the loss of their own ship, took advantage of what

see vol. I., pp. 289, 292.

seemed an opportunity for murdering the English and taking possession of the *Tiger*.* They were hindered from doing much harm, and Sir Edward Michelborne reached England safely in the summer of 1606; but no wealth that he brought home could atone for the loss of Captain John Davis, the boldest and the manliest of the Arctic explorers under Queen Elizabeth.

* PURCHAS, vol. i., pp. 132—139.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PRELUDE TO THE GREAT ARMADA FIGHT.

[1585—1587.]

ALMOST from the day when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne it was clear to far-seeing men that fierce war must eventually arise between Spain and England. During the brief reign of Mary, her husband Philip II., virtually King, had only been able to stamp down, in no way to stamp out, the hearty Protestantism of England; and when, with Elizabeth's accession, that hearty Protestantism was again able openly to become a guiding principle of English politics, prompted by a new hatred of Catholic intolerance and Catholic interference as represented especially by Spain, the antagonism was too great to issue in anything less than deadly fighting. But for a long time the old feud between England and France, which was also in lesser sort a feud between Lutherans and Papists, delayed the struggle; and while it was the wise policy of Elizabeth and her statesmen, who saw that thus only they could save their country from overwhelming danger, to avert aggression by playing the two great Catholic nations against one another, prudent Philip

also saw that, for the sake of keeping at bay his more dangerous Catholic neighbour, it was well to preserve a show of friendship for the more distant kingdom of heretics. Therefore Elizabeth bore even with Spanish fostering of insurrection in Ireland, and Philip bore even with English piracy in the Spanish Main; and the war of races and of creeds was carried on for nearly thirty years only by pirates and freebooters.

Yet, during every one of those years, the contest became more imminent, and, by so long restraining it, diplomatists only rendered it more vindictive when at last it was allowed to be changed from individual piracy into national warfare. This was in great part due to the heroic battle of the Netherlands for civil and religious freedom, unsurpassed and hardly rivalled in the whole world's history. Bringing the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism, tyranny and freedom, to the very walls of England, with no other barrier than the Narrow Sea afforded, they forced Englishmen to take part therein, unless they chose meanly to hold aloof altogether from the movement of European politics, and to avail themselves of an insularity which it had been the effort of five centuries to make only artificial. This was by no means their choice. From the first sounding of the trumpet in Holland, English statesmen entered zealously into the crooked courses of diplomacy, and English adventurers went in crowds to swell the ranks of straightforward soldiership. All, too, who stayed at home showed, in more or less open ways, their sympathy for the champions of independence.

The first important evidence of this appeared in December, 1568. Five Spanish ships, conveying money to the Netherlands, to be there employed by the Duke of Alva in paying his troops, were attacked in the English Channel by a little fleet of French pirates equipped by the Prince of Condé. They took refuge in the harbours of Falmouth, Plymouth, and Southampton, and, after vainly trying to evade their pursuers and proceed safely to Antwerp, appealed to Queen Elizabeth for assistance, begging that she would protect them with some of her ships during the remainder of the voyage. Instead of that the Queen took the money into her own keeping, informing the Spanish ambassador that, as she understood it really belonged to some Genoese merchants, and had been only borrowed by Philip, she would borrow it herself. To this she was in part induced by the arguments of William Hawkins, John Hawkins's brother, who, having just heard of the misfortunes experienced by him at San Juan de Ulloa, urged that "her Majesty might now make stay of King Philip's treasure till recompense was made"—a course by which he "looked also to please God, for the Spaniards were God's enemies."* Her bold conduct of course gave great offence to the Spanish Government. Alva immediately seized all the property of the English merchants in the Netherlands, most of whom, however, with Sir Thomas Gresham at their head, had already been driven out of it by the turmoils and harassments of the civil war. Thereupon Elizabeth authorized re-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. xlviii., No. 50.

prisals with her own ships, and gave implied sanction to the much greater reprisals resorted to by private adventurers upon the Spanish shipping that was forced, in its passage to and from the Low Countries, to pass through the English Channel. In such ways the struggle was hastened on.

Philip II., from that time, was anxious to enter upon avowed war with England. He was only restrained by the more cautious Duke of Alva, who argued that, seeing how hard was the punishment of the small and unaided insurgent nation of the Low Countries, it would be madness to force upon it the open and complete alliance of the much larger nation of England. Therefore he confined himself to underhand warfare, and plotted and schemed his utmost in encouraging rebellion among the Catholic subjects of Elizabeth both in Ireland and in England. He so far succeeded as to be amused with the hope, through every one of more than a dozen years, that English Papists and Spanish money would procure him an easy victory over what he called "the lost and undone kingdom" of Elizabeth. But the hope was too weak to be held by many but himself, and even he was now and then compelled to admit its folly. Yet he continued to scheme and plot, with much substantial injury to England, and with much loss of wealth and credit to himself, sometimes with failures that made him the laughing-stock of Europe.*

* It will be seen that I here only briefly allude, so far as seems necessary to my purpose, to topics which are amplified in all the histories, and most fully, as regards the earlier of them, in the excellent *History of*

One of these failures was the work of John Hawkins. How fierce was Hawkins's hatred of Spain, and how fearlessly he showed it, we have already seen. But Hawkins could use duplicity as well as Philip. From the time of his return to England, after his defeat at San Juan de Ulloa in 1568, he did all in his power, by threat, by argument, and by entreaty, to procure the release of his comrades taken prisoners at San Juan, or forced afterwards to throw themselves upon the flinty rock of Spanish mercy in Mexico. When entreaty, argument, and threat had failed, he tried deception, and this, though it wrought no good for the poor sufferers in Mexico, led to famous results in England. In April, 1571, he sent a message to King Philip at Madrid, pretending that he was weary of Elizabeth's fickle and tyrannical rule, and offering to break his allegiance, and to give the Spaniards all the advantages of his maritime skill and his intimate acquaintance with English statecraft, on condition that his old friends should be set free, and that he himself should be suitably rewarded. To this astonishing proposal Philip gladly listened, but he asked for proof that he was not being played upon.* Proof satisfactory to him was sent in the shape of a letter cunningly procured from Mary Queen of Scots;† and in the following August a large sum of money was

England which Mr. FROUDE is now producing; and as regards the later of them, in Mr. MOTLEY's no less excellent *History of the United Netherlands*.

* *Simancas MS.*, cited by FROUDE, vol. x., pp. 262, 263.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Scottish Series, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. vi., Nos. 61, 71, 73.

transmitted by Philip to Hawkins, to be used by him in making traitors of other Englishmen, and in preparing some English ships for Spanish service. Even the details of the service on which they were to be employed were confided to him.* Seldom before had Philip been so duped. Hawkins straightway informed Queen Elizabeth, who was not ignorant of the preliminaries, of the state of affairs, and, while he kept Philip's money himself, enabled her to use Philip's secrets to his serious damage. "I have sent your Lordship the copy of my pardon from the King of Spain, in the very order and manner I have it," he said in a letter on the subject to Lord Burghley, dated the 4th of September. "The Duke of Medina and the Duke of Alva hath every of them one of the same pardons, more amplified to present unto me, though this be large enough, with my great titles and honours from the King—from which God deliver me! Their practices be very mischievous, and they be never idle. But God, I hope, will confound them, and turn their devices upon their own necks. I will put my business in some order, and give my attendance upon her Majesty, to do her that service that by your Lordship shall be thought most convenient in this case."† Hawkins soon showed himself to Philip as a true, though not a very truthful, Englishman.

In the meanwhile England's quarrel with Spain progressed. Personal jealousy of the great Prince of Orange, and resentment of his advocacy of popular

* FROUDE, vol. x., pp. 267, 268.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. lxxxi., No. 7.

rights opposed to all theories of royal prerogative, caused Elizabeth somewhat to restrain it. Sympathising on some points with Spain, and on some others with the Low Countries, she watched the struggle with conflicting feelings through nearly twenty years, and according to her various inclinations to join issue with the Netherlands or to leave Philip to crush them were her varying approval and condemnation not only of smaller piracies near home but also of such larger enterprises as those of Hawkins and Drake. She always showed more friendship for the Netherlands than Philip approved; but, by reason of her efforts to conciliate him, as well as of her personal prejudices to the republicans, the friendship was often less hearty and less effective than the worthiest of her subjects desired. Tortuous diplomacy was never so tortuous as during these twenty years. But the end of it was forced to be straightforward and decisive. In the treaty which on the 16th of August, 1585, Elizabeth concluded with the United States of the Netherlands, asserting their independence, and pledging herself to its maintenance, she took a step which could not possibly be retraced without national disgrace, and entered irrevocably upon open war with Spain. Her reasons thereto were promptly announced to all the world in a noble and eloquent "Declaration of the causes moving the Queen of England to give aid to the defence of the people afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries," which was published at the same time in English, Dutch, Italian, and French.*

* HOLLINSHED, vol. iii., pp. 1411-1419. See a whole chapter on this treaty and its antecedents in MOTLEY, vol. i., pp. 285-364.

By that treaty Queen Elizabeth undertook to assist the Netherlands with five thousand foot soldiers and a thousand horsemen under the Earl of Leicester as Commander-in-Chief, and with Sir Philip Sidney as General of the Horse and Governor of Flushing; and, in conjunction with her allies, to organize a formidable fleet for further prosecution of the war under the direction of Lord High Admiral Howard. The land-forces set out at once to do memorable work, in which the brightest incident was the fatal prowess shown by Sidney at the battle of Zutphen. The movements of the fleet were perforce somewhat slower, but the work done by it was far more memorable.

Of the antecedents of Lord Charles Howard of Effingham we have already seen something. His first twelve years' service under Queen Elizabeth had little to do with seamanship. In July, 1559, before she had been a year on the throne, and when he was only twenty-two years old, he was sent by her with a message of sympathy to Henry II. on his illness, which message was turned into a mission of condolence and congratulation to Francis II. in consequence of Henry's death.* He returned to England to shine in the Court and to win especial liking, by reason of "his most proper person," from the Queen. In 1562 he entered Parliament as knight of his native shire of Surrey; and in 1569 he served as General of the Horse in the army with which the Earl of Warwick suppressed the re-

* BREWERSON, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. i., Nos. 967, 985.

bellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.*

In 1570 began his naval career. On the 29th of August in that year he was made an Admiral, and appointed, along with Admiral William Winter, to the charge of ten ships sent by the Queen to escort Anne of Austria, the intended bride of Philip II., from Holland to Spain. If this work was intended merely as a compliment to the Spanish monarch, Howard, following the example of his father who, in 1554, had been sent in kindred manner to escort Philip to England for marriage with Queen Mary, managed to turn it into a defiance of the pride of Spain. His ten ships were in consort with a hundred and thirty Spanish sail, which on entering the English Channel still flaunted the Spanish flag. Thereupon Lord Charles Howard "environed their fleet in most strange and warlike sort, and enforced them to stoop-gallant and to vail their bonnets for the Queen of England." This done, "he performed all good offices of honour and humanity to that foreign princess."†

Other courtly work fell to him in the ensuing years. In February, 1582, he was employed in taking home the Duke of Anjou, after his visit to England in hope and expectation of being made the husband of Queen Elizabeth; on which occasion he wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham to advise that the Queen should part from

* COLLINS, *Peerage*, vol. iv., p. 269; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. lx., No. 65; vol. lxiv., No. 22.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. lxxiii., No. 36; HAKLUYT, *Dedication*.

the Duke at Canterbury instead of seeing him all the way to Dover, as Dover was not large enough to entertain them both.* Tougher work also came to him in looking after the welfare of the fleet, seeing that it was in good order for resisting invasion, and occasionally exercising some part of it in the pursuit of pirates. In these ways he so acted as to justify his appointment as Lord High Admiral, in succession to the Earl of Lincoln, who died in January, 1585. "The Queen," we are told, "had a great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and knew him to be of a moderate and noble courage, skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem among sailors."† That last was his best recommendation. "True it is," says another of his old panegyrists, "he was no deep seaman; but he had skill enough to know those who had more skill than himself and to follow their instructions, and would not starve the Queen's service by feeding his own sturdy wilfulness, but was ruled by the experienced in sea matters; the Queen having a navy of oak and an admiral of ozier."‡

The ozier and the oak fitted well together. Howard did his best to strengthen the English navy, and to prepare for the greater use of it that was to result from the treaty made with the Netherlands a few months after his appointment as High Admiral; and he had

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clii., No. 34; NICHOLS, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 347.

† CAMDEN, *Annals*, p. 325.

‡ FULLER, *Worthies*.

excellent advisers and assistants in such men as Drake and Hawkins.

Hawkins, having retired from the personal contest with Spain in distant waters, which he had been the first to encourage, settled down to the hearty performance of his multifarious duties as Treasurer or Comptroller of the Navy, begun on the last day of 1578. Drake, being younger, and having been wonderfully successful in all his projects against Spain, continued to take the lead in actual seamanship.

So great was the fear already excited in Spain and its possessions by Drake's prowess, that, in 1582, King Philip offered a reward of 20,000 ducats to any one who would bring him his head or proof that it had been hindered from producing any more of his terrible handiwork.* He seems to have been in England or near it, however, for nearly five years after returning from his famous voyage round the world. Dreading Spain too much to sanction just then any further voyaging of that sort, Queen Elizabeth kept him generally at Court, allowed him occasionally to reside in Plymouth, and sometimes employed him in catching pirates—if Spanish pirates, it would be all the better—in the Narrow Seas. He was thus employed in the autumn of 1583 and in the summer of 1584;† while in

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cliii., No. 49. This offer was made in the first instance to John Doughty, brother of the Thomas Doughty who was executed by Drake at Port Saint Julian. Doughty, however, seems to have done nothing more than slander Drake. (*Ibid.*, vol. cliii., No. 50.) That he took no legal steps to avenge his brother's death is some evidence in favour of Drake's innocence in the matter.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clxii., No. 33; vol. clxxxii., No. 38.

the following autumn we find him organizing volunteers in South Devon for the defence of the country against invaders and insurgents,* and, in company with a multitude of others, pledging himself by the most solemn oaths, "faithfully to serve and obey the Queen, to defend her against all estates, dignities, and earthly powers whatsoever, and to pursue to utter extermination all that shall attempt by any act, counsel, or consent to anything that shall tend to the harm of her Majesty's royal person."†

As soon as it was clear that England would go to war with Spain on behalf of the Netherlands, and long before the signing of the treaty by which war was virtually declared, Drake was ready with a bold scheme for sharing in it. It was not his scheme alone. Sir Philip Sidney—whose desire to exchange courtly indolence for some worthy action, had led him, in 1576, to purpose going with Frobisher in search of a passage to Cathay, and, in 1583, to obtain from Queen Elizabeth authority to plant a colony in America—had, in 1584, begun to think of following Drake's example in attacking the West Indian colonies of Spain. He had discussed the project, among others, with Ralph Lane, the Governor of Raleigh's first unfortunate settlement in Virginia, and Lane, writing to him from Virginia in August, 1585, had urged him to take the work in hand, adducing arguments in its favour from his own experiences and observations. "I could not but write these

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clxxiii., No. 53.

† *Ibid.*, vol. clxxxiv., No. 6.

ill-fashioned lines unto you," he said, "to exhort you, my noble general, by occasion, not to refuse the good opportunity of such a service to the Church of Christ, of great relief from many calamities that this treasure in the Spaniards' hands doth inflict upon the members thereof—very honourable and profitable for her Majesty and our country, and most commendable and fit for yourself to be the enterpriser of."*

Long before that letter arrived Sidney had started the enterprise and had withdrawn from actual part in it. During the summer of 1585 he was busily planning with Drake an expedition to the West Indies and the Spanish Main; and Sidney appears to have done his full share of the work. Besides giving all the money that he could save from his own scanty resources, we are told that he induced thirty gentlemen of good birth and estate to provide 100*l.* apiece for fitting out a fleet strong enough to act worthily in opposition to Spain; also that he used his influence in bringing together a body of volunteers "chosen out of the ablest governors of those martial times." The enterprise was to consist of a strong body of ships and of soldiers for service on land. Drake was to be commander of the fleet, Sidney to be general of the little army; and this arrangement seems to have been agreeable to both partners. But while the preparations were being made, Elizabeth's treaty with the Low Countries was completed, and it was the particular request of William of Orange, who had long before discerned his worth, that Sidney should

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Colonial*, vol. i., No. 5.



be English governor of Flushing, and hold an important place in the army sent to aid him from England. Sidney preferred this to sharing in Drake's expedition, and therefore the fitting out of the fleet was completed without him. Elizabeth, however, who looked upon Sidney as the special ornament of her Court, and who was ignorant of his plot for going so far away as Drake's fleet would take him, demurred even to his employment in the Netherlands. Upon that he resorted to the West Indian project, now aiming still more to keep his purpose a secret from the Queen. Just as Drake was ready for starting he stealthily went down to Plymouth and claimed the resumption of his bargain. But Drake, who had calculated upon having more complete authority than that bargain left him, while receiving Sidney "with a great deal of outward pomp and compliment," was by no means willing to have him for a partner; and thereupon ensued a curious little course of scheming. Drake caused a message to be sent to the Queen, informing her of Sidney's intended departure. In return a prompt order was despatched by her Majesty, to the effect that he was to be stayed: if he refused, the whole fleet was to be kept back: on no account was Drake to sail with him on board. That order, however, was preceded by news to Sidney that it was on its way, and he had time to dress up as sailors two soldiers whom he could trust, who hurried off to meet the courier, got into conversation with him, purloined the letter, and so prevented it from reaching its destination. Yet that was not successful. Drake lin-

gered, and intelligence of the plot reached Elizabeth before he had set out. A more imperious mandate was at once prepared, and this time care was taken to have it properly conveyed. It was delivered into Sidney's own hands, we are told, by a peer of the realm. It carried with it "in the one hand grace, in the other thunder." The thunder was a threat that, if he quitted the Queen and her Court in this way, he should never return. The grace was a pledge that he should have employment under his uncle the Earl of Leicester, now going into the Low Countries. Sidney accepted the grace. He was sent to be governor of Flushing, and to die of his wound at Zutphen ; and Drake went alone to the West Indies.*

Drake's fleet consisted of twenty-five vessels, large and small. In the largest of them, the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, Drake went as Admiral, with Thomas Fenner for Captain. Under him, in charge of the *Primrose*, was Martin Frobisher, as Vice-Admiral, allowed, after seven years spent in idleness or piracy,† to share once more in memorable work. To Francis Knollys, as Rear-Admiral, was entrusted the *Leicester Galleon* ; and in the *Tigér* went, as Lieutenant-General in command of the soldiers, Christopher Carlisle, Sidney's old friend, lately further connected with him through their marriage to two daughters of Sir Francis

* See my *Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 459-469.

† The Netherlands, even after their formal alliance with Elizabeth, had to complain of the depredations committed upon their merchant ships by Frobisher and other Englishmen.—MOTLEY, *The United Netherlands*, vol. iii., pp. 173, 174.

Walsingham. Officers, soldiers, and seamen numbered in all 2,300 persons. The *Elizabeth Bonaventure* and the *Tiger*, if none of the others, were ships of the Queen's navy, and Drake and Carlisle bore commissions from the Queen. This expedition differed from all its predecessors, not only in size, but also in being distinctly authorized by the Crown to make war upon the King of Spain and his dominions. Drake, no longer a pirate, was now an acknowledged privateer. His enterprise was regarded by English Protestants and their allies as a direct piece of public warfare on their behalf, of extreme importance and wholly to be commended. "Upon Drake's voyage, in very truth," wrote Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, "dependeth the life and death of the cause, according to man's judgment."*

The delays consequent upon Sidney's proposal to accompany it having come to an end, Drake left Plymouth on the 14th of September, 1585.† Proposing chiefly to attack Spain through her colonies, he was ready also, if possible, to strike some blows nearer home. Therefore, after capturing a Spanish fishing vessel on its way back from Newfoundland, and putting into Vigo, through stress of weather, on the 4th of October, he turned into the Road of Bayona, on the 10th, intending, "with the favour of the Almighty," to attack it. But the governor offered prompt submission, pro-

* *Leicester Correspondence*, edited by Mr. BAUCE for the Camden Society (1844), p. 341.

† The following details, where no other authority is cited, are drawn from a narrative by Biggs, Cripps, and Cates, in *HARLETT*, vol. iii., pp. 534-548.

missing to liberate the persons and goods of English merchants that had been placed under arrest; and, while Drake was considering how to act, a true Biscayan storm arose, which partly dispersed his ships and forced him to lay out to sea. The storm lasted three days, and then Drake sent Carlisle to pay a second visit to Vigo.* Carlisle did damage to the inhabitants which it was thought 8,000*l.* would not recompense, but captured nothing of much value, his chief prize being "a cross of silver doubly gilt," belonging to the cathedral. Off the coast of Galicia the fleet appears to have stayed some little time, thereby enabling the Spanish authorities to send information concerning it to the West Indies, and so cause some trouble in the ensuing months.

The first trouble thus caused was at Palma, one of the Canaries, where, "by the naughtiness of the landing-place, well furnished with great ordnance," Drake was prevented from halting, and even driven off with some injury. Off Cape de Verde, also, he was able to procure very little of the booty which he sought. He stayed there, however, from the 14th to the 30th of November, and there the murder of one of his people was visited with terrible retribution. "We consumed with fire," it is said, "all the houses as well in the country as in the town of Santiago, the hospital excepted, which we left unconsumed." Perhaps the hospital was spared because the sickness that then began to show itself among the English inclined them to some little

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clxxxiii., No. 10.

mercy towards sick Portuguese and Spaniards even. This sickness—consisting of “extreme hot burning and continual agues, whereof very few escaped with life, and those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wits and strength for a long time after”—lessened the force by more than two hundred men in the course of the passage which, after two months of loitering, was at length made to the West Indies.

There Dominica and Saint Kitts were first visited, not for war with Spaniards, but for refreshment obtained from the Indians, who were still their only inhabitants. Thence Drake sailed to Hispaniola, and on the 1st of January, 1586, twelve hundred men, apparently all that were left of the land force, were put on shore about a dozen miles from San Domingo, “being the ancientest and chief inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts,” founded just ninety years before by the brother and deputy of Christopher Columbus. “Our General,” says the chronicler, “after seeing all landed in safety, returned to the fleet, bequeathing us to God and the good conduct of Master Carlisle, our Lieutenant-General.”

Between eight o'clock and noon, on this New-Year's Day, Carlisle's little army was marching up to San Domingo. When the city was in sight a hundred and fifty Spanish horse came out to meet the invaders, and after some brave fighting were driven within the walls. There were two seaward gates at which Carlisle resolved to enter. He planted half of his ordnance and a small force in front of each of them, and then, dividing the

rest of his men into two parties, he intrusted one to Captain Powell, with orders to pass through one gate, while with the other, after vowing that, if God would help them, they would meet in the market-place, he forced his way through the other gate. The enemy, though not unprepared, were soon driven back. The English broke their ranks and "marched, or rather ran, so roundly into them, that pell-mell they entered the gates, and gave the Spaniards more care every man to save himself by flight than reason to stand any longer to their broken defence." Carlisle was the first to reach the market-place, "a place of very fair, spacious, square ground," and thence before nightfall they scoured the town sufficiently to find comfortable quarters for themselves. Next day Drake brought his vessels into the harbour, and landed most of his men to share in the spoil.

San Domingo was held for a month and leisurely ransacked, though Drake was disappointed at the small booty to be obtained in what had hitherto been supposed to be the richest storehouse of the exaggerated riches of the Spanish Indies. "We found here," it is said, "great store of strong wine, sweet oil, vinegar, olives, and such-like provisions, excellent white meal, woollen and linen cloth, and some silks, all which served us for great relief. Good store of brave apparel our soldiers also found for their relief. There was but little plate, or vessel of silver, in comparison of the great pride of other things in this town: yet some plate we found, and many other things very gallant and rich, which had

cost them dear, although unto us they were of small importance."

The Spanish governor and most of the inhabitants, with all the troops, had taken refuge in a stronghold some three miles out of the town. Finding so little treasure in it, Drake was anxious to treat for a ransom, but the governor, hoping for the arrival of a fleet that had been promised him from Spain, was loth to treat. Then Drake sent a Negro boy, with a flag of truce to propose negotiations; but the messenger was met half way and so beaten that he could only crawl back to tell Drake how he had been handled, and then die at his feet. Thereat, we are told, "the General, being greatly passioned, commanded the provost marshal to cause a couple of friars, who were among his prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the boy was stricken, accompanied with a sufficient guard of soldiers, there presently to be both hanged; despatching at the instant another Spanish prisoner with the reason whereof this execution was done, and with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the general's messenger were delivered into our hands, to receive condign punishment, there should no day pass wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged until they were all consumed which were in our hands." The murderer was given up, and Drake caused him to be hanged by some of his own countrymen; but the governor refused to make any other concession. Drake accordingly ordered the destruction of the town, which was found to be "no small travail, being very mag-

nificently built of stone, with high lofts." Every morning two hundred men were sent out to do this ugly work. "Yet," says the chronicler, "did we not, and could not, consume so much as one-third part of the town; and so, in the end—what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects—we were contented to accept, and they at length to pay, 25,000 ducats"—about 7,000*l.*—"for the ransom of the rest."

Then Drake put to sea again and proceeded to Cartagena, the best fortified place on the Spanish Main. There the same course was pursued as at San Domingo, though with somewhat tougher fighting and with somewhat greater gain in money. Drake boldly entered the harbour which he had not been afraid to skirt, when a mere pirate, twelve years before. Carlisle and the troops being landed at midnight, three miles away from the town, pressed up to its walls, to find that Drake and the fleet, approaching by sea, had already done half of the fighting. Great wine butts, filled with earth, had been used for a barricade. "Notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot," says one of the soldiers, "the assault was, without staying, attempted by us. Down went the butts of earth, and pell-mell came our swords and pikes together after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemy's nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer than theirs, and our bodies better armed, with which advantage our swords and pikes grew too hard for them, and they were driven to give place. In this furious entry the

Lieutenant-General slew with his own hands the chief ensign-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his life's end." That was at the gates; and the fighting was stoutly maintained at every street corner and up to the market-place. The Spaniards, braver than at San Domingo, were also much helped by some Indian archers, "with their arrows most villainously empoisoned, so that, if they did but break the skin, the party touched, unless it were by great marvel, died." Many Englishmen, too, "were mischieved to death by small sticks, sharply pointed, of a foot and a half long, fixed in the ground, with the points poisoned, right in the way from the place where they landed to the town," which produced all the more harm because the attack was made in the dark.

Cartagena was in the hands of the English at day-break, and they held it for six weeks. Much pillage ensued; but Drake, respecting the bravery of his enemies, treated them honourably. "There passed divers courtesies between us and the Spaniards," it is said, "as feasting and using them with all kindness and favour." The feasting, of course, was with Spanish dainties. In the end, on receipt of about 28,000*l.* as ransom, less than a third of the sum he had originally asked for, Drake restored the shattered town to its inhabitants.

To that moderation he was chiefly induced by the illness that had afflicted his people ever since their departure from Cape de Verde. The crews were much reduced, and of the fighting men only eight hundred

and fifty remained, a hundred and fifty of those being too weak for any active service. Drake and his officers, after much consultation and with many regrets, resolved that it would be best not only to leave Cartagena with smaller ransom than they expected, but also to give up their plan of despoiling Nombre de Dios, and if possible, even crossing the Isthmus of Darien and attacking Panama.

Leaving Cartagena on the 31st of March, and blowing up its fort as a farewell show of power, Drake returned to it for a few days on finding that a great Spanish vessel which he had seized at San Domingo had sprung a leak and was in danger of foundering. He rearranged his stores and then set sail, intending to return to England with as little delay as possible. In that, however, there was some difficulty. The fleet was in need of fresh water, and for that it had to wander from one point to another in the neighbourhood of Cuba. A scanty supply was at length procured at San Antonio, the western cape of that island. "Here," says the chronicler, "I do wrong if I should forget the good example of the General, who, to encourage others and to hasten the getting water aboard, took no less pains himself than the meanest. Throughout the expedition, indeed, he had everywhere shown so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his fleet, accompanied with such wonderful travail of body, that, doubtless, had he been the meanest person, as he was the chiefest, he had deserved the first place of honour. And no less happy do we account him for being asso-

ciated with Master Carlisle, his Lieutenant-General, by whose experience, prudent counsel, and gallant performance, he achieved so many and happy enterprises, and by whom also he was very greatly assisted in setting down the needful orders, law and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions."

From Cuba Drake sailed up to Florida and coasted it to the northward, sacking and burning the new Spanish settlements of San Juan de Pinos and St. Augustine on his way, until he arrived at the island of Roanoke, containing Sir Walter Raleigh's luckless Virginian colonists. Them, as we have seen, he saved from the starvation that was imminent. After that a month's easy sailing brought him back to Portsmouth, which he reached on the 28th of July, after an absence of nine and a half months from England.

The expedition was much less successful than Drake and his friends had desired. Seven hundred and fifty of his twenty-three hundred followers had died on the way, chiefly of disease; and some of the principal places marked out for attack had been undisturbed. The gains, however, including two hundred and forty pieces of artillery, amounted in all to 60,000*l.*, of which a third was given as prize-money to the soldiers and sailors, and the other two-thirds yielded a rich return to the fitters out of the fleet. Very great also was the English gain in injury to Spain. So great was Philip's alarm, when he heard of Drake's first coming to the coast of Galicia, that he forbade the sailing of the

annual fleet for India or of any other trading ships from Spanish or Portuguese ports.* “Drake has played the dragon,” was the cry of the frightened Spaniards; and the fright was steadily increased when the fleet of sixteen stout ships sent out by Philip in pursuit of Drake had to put back much damaged by a storm, and when every week brought some fresh report of his fierce doings in the Portuguese districts of Africa, in the Spanish Indies, and in the Spanish Main of America.† “Sir Francis Drake is a fearful man to the King of Spain,” wrote Lord Burghley in a letter to the Earl of Leicester.‡

England just then had many fearful men to the King of Spain. On returning from his nine months' absence, Drake found that in the meanwhile great progress had been made in the quarrel between the two countries. Nearly every stay-at-home gentleman who had means enough fitted out a ship or two for employment in piracy or privateering against Spain. The European seas were crowded with them; and distant enterprises without number were projected, the most successful outcome of which was in the voyage of Thomas Cavendish, which has already been described. This was warfare by which Englishmen derived little but profit, and which brought upon Spaniards hardly anything but trouble. Philip and all good Catholics were resolved

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. clxxxiii., No. 28; vol. clxxxvi., No. 11.

† *Ibid.*, vol. clxxxvi., No. 19; vol. clxxxviii., Nos. 1, 8, 17, 53; vol. clxxxix., Nos. 4, 23, 24, 26, 42; vol. cxc., No. 35.

‡ *Leicester Correspondence*, p. 199.

that the insolent Protestant islanders must be punished in their own home; and to that end, even in the early part of 1586, preparations had begun to be made for the invasion of England. Drake found that counter-preparations were busily being made by Hawkins and Winter, and a hundred zealous subordinates in the oversight of ship-building and ship fitting, making of weapons, training of soldiers and sailors, and the like. He took his share in this work,* but he lost no time in planning other work in which he was likely to be of greater service to England and to Protestantism,—likely also to win for himself a larger share of wealth and fame.

He had only been in England a few months when he had perfected a plan for following up his raid upon the Spanish colonies by a raid upon the richest parts of Spain itself. English statesmen, gentlemen, and merchants were ready enough to help him in putting it in force. But Drake wished that his next enterprise should be much more than a privateering exploit. He desired "to singe King Philip's beard" with a formidable fleet of fighting ships, and was anxious, if possible, that his fleet should be recruited from the Netherlands as well as from England. With that object he proceeded to the Hague in November, and used the best arguments he could with the States-General, the burghers, and the seamen. The arguments had not much effect. "He found no disposition in the States and people," said one of Sir Francis Walsingham's correspondents, "at all to assent of his motions. They

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxclii., No. 49.

cannot yield to assist his voyage with any general contribution, but are content to deal with the inhabitants of the principal maritime towns, to furnish in every of them a ship or two.* But the maritime towns were as backward as the States-General, and Drake went disappointed back to England.

And in England he had not as much immediate support as he hoped for from Queen Elizabeth. This support was at last only given when the Queen had been convinced that instant action on her part was necessary. "Upon sundry advertisements and intelligences, very provably reported as well out of Spain as from other countries, of great provisions for the sea, prepared by the King of Spain with intent to employ the same in some attempt either against this realm of England or the realm of Ireland," it was said in the instructions given to Drake, "Her Majesty did think it very convenient, both for her honour and necessary defence, to have some strength and shipping at sea, to prevent or withstand such enterprises as might be attempted against her realms or dominions."† Accordingly, on the 16th of March, 1587, the Queen formally assigned to Drake, "by commission, covenant, promise and grant," four ships and two pinnaces, and allowed him to collect other vessels in any way that he could. On the 16th of March he signed a closing contract with some merchants of London, William Garway being one of the number, who agreed to provide him with

* MOTLEY, vol. ii., p. 103.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 17.

ten armed trading ships and pinnaces.* Nine or ten more appear to have been furnished by other adventurers. At any rate, by the end of March Sir Francis Drake was in command of about twenty-five vessels of all sizes, which he had used all the means in his power to make ready for immediate and efficient service at sea. "His commission," said Walsingham in a letter to Sir Edward Stafford, "is to impeach the joining together of the King of Spain's fleet out of their several ports, to keep victuals from them, to follow them in case they should be come forward towards England or Ireland, as also to set upon such as should either come out of the West or East Indies into Spain, or go out of Spain thither."†

Drake entered heartily into his work. On the 2nd of April he wrote from Plymouth to Sir Francis Walsingham, to say that the Queen's ships had just joined the private vessels that had been waiting for a week,‡ and that all was now ready for starting. "We have agreed upon all conditions between us and them, and have found them all so well affected and so willing in all our good proceedings, as we all persuade ourselves there was never more likely in any fleet, or a more loving agreement than we hope one of the other. I thank God I find no man but as all members of one

* BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Lansdowne*, lvi., No. 173, c.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Foreign*, cited by Mr. HOPPER, in the Appendix to his edition of ROBERT LENO's *True Description of the Last Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, with his Service done against the Spaniards* (in vol. v. of the *Camden Miscellany*), p. 29.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 1.

body, to stand for our gracious Queen and country against Anti-Christ and his members. I assure your Honour there hath been no time lost, neither, with the grace of God, shall be in any other place. I have upon mine own credit supplied such victual as we have spent, and augmented as much as I could get, for that we are very unwilling to return errandless. If your Honour did now see the fleet under sail, and know with what resolution men's minds do enter into this action, as your Honour would rejoice to see them, so you would judge a small force would not divide them. Let me beseech your Honour to hold a good opinion, not of myself only, but of all the rest servitors in this action, as we stand nothing doubtful of your Honour; but if there be any ill affected, as there hath not wanted in other actions, and it is likely this will not go free, we hope that the parties may be known. If we deserve ill, let us be punished. If we discharge our duties in doing our best it is hard measure to be reported ill by those which will either keep their finger out of the fire, or too well affect to the alteration"—that is, overthrow—"of our Government, which I hope in God they shall never live to see." Herein Drake alluded to some of his followers who had run away: "we all think by some practice of some adversaries to the action, by letters written." These defections were easily supplied. Drake closed his letter in "haste, from aboard her Majesty's good ship, the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*." "The wind commands me away. Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in his fear, as the enemy may



have cause to say that God doth fight for her Majesty as well abroad as at home, and give her long and happy life, and ever victory against God's enemies and her Majesty's. Let me beseech your Honour to pray unto God for us, that he will direct us the right way. Then shall we not doubt our enemies; for they are the sons of men."*

The Queen's ships which Drake thus led out so devoutly for spoliation of the Spanish Anti-Christ were, besides the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, which he himself commanded, as he had done in the expedition of 1585, the *Golden Lion*, entrusted to Captain William Burrows as Vice-Admiral; the *Dreadnought*, under Captain Thomas Fenner; and the *Rainbow*, under Captain Bellingham. The *Merchant Royal*, as its name implies, was the leading contribution of the London citizens. The names of the other vessels are not recorded. The four largest were of about 500 tons apiece: one was of 400 tons; two were of 200 tons each; seven of 150 tons, and the rest were barks, pinnaces, and frigates of 50 tons and under. The total burthen amounted to 4,975 tons, and the sailors and soldiers employed numbered in all 2,648.†

Drake had hardly passed out of Plymouth Harbour on a Sunday which was to have all the fancied luck of a sailor's Sunday, when Elizabeth began to fear that she had been overbold in sending him to make war with King Philip in his own waters. Therefore, on the following Sunday, the 9th of April, a fresh set of in-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 2.

† HORTON, pp. 38, 53.

structions was drawn up by her Council. “ Since your departure,” it was said in these instructions, “ her Majesty being advertised that the preparations of the King of Spain were not so great as was reported, and further, that they are of late dissolved”—certainly a false advertisement,—“ and perceiving also by some other matter that hath proceeded from the said King of Spain and his ministers that he is desirous that the unkindness and jars happened of late years between her Majesty and him might be in some honourable sort compounded, her Majesty being, for her part, loth to exasperate matters further than they are, or to give cause to the world to conceive, by anything that may proceed from her or any of her ministers or subjects, that the present altercation between the said King and her is maintained or nourished by her, otherwise than forced thereunto for her own defence, hath commanded us to signify unto you, in her name, that her express will and pleasure is, you shall forbear to enter forcibly into any of the said King’s ports or havens, or to offer violence to any of his towns or shipping within harbour, or to do any act of hostility upon the land. And yet, notwithstanding this direction, her pleasure is that you should do your best endeavour”—the words “ as well by force as otherwise” were inserted and afterwards struck out—“ to get into your possession, avoiding as much as may lie in you the effusion of Christian blood, such shipping of the said King’s or his subjects as you shall find at seas.”*

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 17.

These instructions, however, seem not to have reached Drake until his return to England. Before they could possibly have reached him he had done the work which he was ordered not to do. Having started with a fair wind on the morning of the 2nd of April, he fell in, on the afternoon of the 3rd, with two pirate-vessels from the Isle of Wight, which he attached to his fleet; and a few other stray ships appear, by design or accident, to have joined his force in the English Channel. Three days of quick sailing brought him within sight of Cape Finisterre; but then a violent storm arose which did some damage and wasted some time. The ships were driven out to sea and there dispersed during seven days. When they met on the 16th of April, it was found that the *Dreadnought* had been nearly wrecked and that a pinnace had been lost. Then Drake shaped his course to Cape Saint Vincent, which he passed on the 17th, "divers of his small barks and pinnaces shoring in and chasing within their bays their small barks and caravels, whereof they took one."*

It was Drake's plan to go at once to Cadiz, the greatest port of Spain, and there do as much mischief as he could. He reached its harbour on the 19th. "There we found," Drake said in a letter to Walsingham, "sundry great ships, some laden, some half laden, and some ready to be laden with the King's provisions for England. I assure your Honour the like preparation was never heard of, nor known, as the King of Spain hath and daily maketh to invade Eng-

* LING, in HOPPER, p. 14.

land. His provisions of bread and wines are so great as will suffice forty thousand men a whole year, which, if they be not impeached before they join, will be very perilous. Our interest therefore is, by God's help, to intercept their meetings by all possible means we may, which I hope shall have such good success as shall tend to the advancement of God's glory, the safety of her Highness's royal person, the quiet of her country, and the annoyance of the enemy."*

A good deal of annoyance was done to the enemy during the two days which Drake spent in the Road of Cadiz. In a sentence he himself described the most daring exploit of English sea-fighting that had ever yet been done. "We sank a Biscayan of 1200 tons, burnt a ship of the Marquis of Santa Cruz of 1500 tons, and thirty-one ships more of 1000, 800, 600, 400, and 200 tons apiece, and carried away four with us laden with provisions, and departed thence at our pleasure with as much honour as we could wish, notwithstanding that during the time of our abode there we were both oftentimes fought withal by twelve of the King's galleys, of whom we sank two and always repulsed the rest, and were, without ceasing, vehemently shot at from the shore; but to our little hurt, God be thanked."† Some of his comrades sent home fuller reports, differing slightly as regards figures, which have come down to us.‡

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 46. No. 47 is a similar letter written by Drake, on the same day, April 27, to Secretary Wolley.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 46.

‡ LENG, pp. 14-16; HARLETT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 121-123; *News out of the Coastes of Spain*, attributed to Captain Fenner, and published



From them we learn that it was on the afternoon of Wednesday that the fleet came within sight of Cadiz. "So soon as we were descried," says one, "two of their galleys made towards us, and, judging what we were, made haste into shore again, not offering to shoot one shot at us. Yet before they could return, our admiral, with others of our fleet, shot them through and slew ten of their men. Presently there came forth from the town ten other galleys and fought with us; but we applied them so well with our great ordnance that two of them were fain to be hauled up that night." Very great was the consternation in the town at the report of this English arrival. All the women and children were hurried for safety into the fortress, twenty-seven of them being crushed to death in the turmoil. Every man who could and would handle a weapon made ready to use it. A flying messenger was despatched to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, in charge of the army at San Lucar, for succour. Soldiers and volunteers crowded the quay and all the seaward streets, and the large guns of the fortress were prepared for service. But the great galleys, some of them twice or thrice as large as the largest of the English ships, and, with the smaller fighting craft, making a force twice as great as Drake's in number of vessels, four or five times as great in number of men and guns, offered no resistance for that night

in 1587; BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Harleian*, clxvii., fols. 104, 105; *Ibid.*, *Landowne*, xc., No. 24; and a French account by a resident in the town, copied from the RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Foreign*, in the Appendix to LENO, pp. 35-38,—from which the above extracts have been made.

after the first defeat of the two scouts and the ten galleys that followed them. In the dusk Drake quietly sailed into the harbour with his four Queen's ships and some of the lesser vessels, while the *Merchant Royal* and several of the other merchants' ships, spreading themselves from end to end of the little bay, forced back a number of Spanish, French, Italian, and other sail, mostly trading vessels, that attempted to escape at the first brunt of danger. Many of these were boarded and despoiled, with no loss of life to either side, save in the drowning of a few of the sailors who swam towards the shore in hope of saving themselves.

Almost as easy was Drake's greater victory. The Spanish galleys were valiant only in show. They retreated under shelter of the fortress and left Drake to do as much mischief as he could while in pursuit of them and in his subsequent seizure of the trading ships that were in port. "The same night," says one of the company, pious and patriotic as ever, "our General, having, by God's favour and sufferance, good opportunity to punish the enemy of God's true gospel and our daily adversary, and further willing to discharge his expected duty towards God, his prince, and country, began to sink and fire divers of their ships." The chief of these was the private property of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, Philip II.'s High Admiral,—“a princely bark,” said an English Papist, who sympathized with Spain, “esteemed at the value of 18,000 ducats; which warmeth him, who, for fear of losing his honour before, was always hanging back from meddling or matching with English pirates.”



We can well believe that it was burnt with special pleasure by the prince of English pirates. A great Genoese argosy, of 1,000 tons, was sunk, "sore against all their wills," because in it, besides rich stuffs of all sorts, were thirty-six pieces of brass ordnance. Four other ships almost as large were sunk, one from Venice, one from Lucca, one from Florence, and one of French ownership, though all chartered by Philip for service in his invasion of England. Five great Spanish carracks, richly laden for the East Indian trade, and about twenty other vessels of various size and value, were also sunk, after being despoiled of the choicest portions of their cargoes. All the injury done to Drake's fleet, in return for this damage, was in the loss of a little Spanish caravel, captured the day before, with five Englishmen on board. "This caravel," it is said, "being far astern, came in very late, so as the galleys intercepted her with much shot and many muskets, but they would never strike and so were taken." Forty galleys from neighbouring ports were sent to attack Drake, and some of them followed him into the harbour; "but in vain, for their chiefest gain was expense of powder and shot."

Drake herein certainly did work enough for one afternoon and evening. Had he been able to land on the same night he might have made terrible havoc of Cadiz, and even, perhaps, have seized its fortress; but he and his brave comrades were tired out for the time. Therefore they kept on shipboard; "in which," says a Frenchman resident in the town, "God showed great

favour to the people, for fear and confusion caused them marvellous trouble." In the morning arrived the reinforcements that had been sent for, and then it was too late for the little body of Englishmen to land with any chance of success. In the harbour, however, they continued their work of destruction all through Thursday and for a great part of the following night. The spoiling, sinking, and burning of the enemy's shipping was carried on with terrible effect.* "The galleys made divers bravadoes upon us," we are told. "The town and their forts also played upon us all day long. But they did us little hurt, saving that the master gunner of the *Golden Lion* had his leg broke with a shot from the town." "During our abode," says another of the party, "they gave us small rest, by reason of their shot from the galleys, fortresses, and shore, where continually they placed new ordnance at places convenient to offend; which notwithstanding, we continually fired their ships as the flood came in, to the end to be cleared of them; the sight of which terrible fires were to us very pleasant, and mitigated the burthen of our continual travail; wherein we were busied for two nights and one day, in discharging, firing, and lading of provisions, with reservation for good, laudable, and guardable defence of the enemy. It may seem strange, or rather miraculous, that so great an exploit should be performed with so small loss; the place to endamage

* It is most likely that much of the spoliation attributed to the first evening belonged to the following day and evening; but I have followed the accounts, in which there is some discrepancy, natural where each authority saw the occurrences from a different point of observation.

us being so convenient, and their force so great, as appeared, from whom were shot at us at the least two hundred culverin and cannon shot. ' But in this, as in all others our actions heretofore, though dangerously attempted, yet happily performed, our good God hath and daily doth make His infinite power manifest to all Papists; and His name by us His servants continually honoured !”

The total amount of damage done by Drake is variously reported. By an average of the conflicting statements it would appear that he destroyed some forty or fifty vessels, large and small, of about 9,000 or 10,000 tons in the aggregate. The loss of stores alone, to King Philip and his subjects, was estimated at half a million ducats, not far short of 150,000*l*. Among the goods burnt and sunk were 4,000 pipes of wine, 20,000 quintals of biscuits, and 30,000 hundredweight of wheat and other provisions.* Out of the destruction was saved as much food as the English ships had room for. “ We rest victualled,” it was said, “ with bread and drink for six months in our ships, and have besides two fly-boats full laden with bread sufficient for a good army for three months.”

Having done as much mischief as he could in Cadiz Harbour, Drake sailed out of it at two o'clock in the morning of Friday, the 21st of April. “ When we were a little out,” adds the chronicler, “ we fell becalmed, and ten galleys followed us and fought with us all that forenoon. But, whether for lack of powder and shot,

* *LANSDOWNE MS. in HOFFER, p. 41.*

or by reason of the heat of the day, I know not, or some of them shot through, which was most likeliest as we judged, they lay aloof for the space of three hours, and never after durst come within our shot. Which our General seeing, that afternoon he sent to the captain of those galleys to know if he had any Englishmen in the galleys as slaves there, as also to will him to deliver unto him the five Englishmen whom they had taken at our coming into Cadiz; and he would deliver so many Spaniards or Portuguese for them. At which time he sent his boat unto our General, presenting him with sucket"—or sweetmeats—"and such other novelties as they had, certifying him that they had none, but only those whom they had taken with the caravel, who were living and in the town at Cadiz: to satisfy which, if it pleased him to stay until the next day, they would make his request known unto the governor of the town, and would return to him again with answer." But, as Drake had reason for supposing that by another day's waiting off Cadiz he would expose himself to a formidable attack from a great fleet which was being collected, he refused to assent to "their devilish practice," and, "finding the wind for his purpose," put out to sea before night.

For ten days he loitered at sea, in the neighbourhood of Cape Saint Vincent. On the 27th of April he sent home a concise report of his achievements which has been quoted from, and with his despatch went some of the other letters which have supplied us with the details of the raid on Cadiz. "We all remain in great

love with our general and in unity throughout the whole fleet," it was said in one of them. That statement was not correct. Drake deserved the love of his comrades, and he generally obtained it. But, like other brave and daring men, he was sometimes imperious and always resolute in carrying out the plans that commended themselves to his own judgment, without much regard for the opinions of others. Thereby offence was given to some, and especially to William Burrows, the Captain of the *Golden Lion* and Vice-Admiral of the whole fleet. On the 30th of April he wrote a foolish letter to Drake, pouring out the grievances which seem to have been troubling him all through the four weeks they had been at sea, and which had become important during the attack on Cadiz. "I have found you always so wedded to your own opinion and will," he said, "that you rather disliked and showed as though it were offensive unto you that any should give you advice in anything,—at least I speak it of myself. For which cause I have refrained often to speak that which otherwise I would and in reason, in discharge of the duty I owe to her Majesty and the place I serve in, I ought to have done; which place you make no account of, nay, you deal not so with me as you do to others." Burrows represented that he had all the more ground of complaint because his alighted advice accorded more than Drake's practice, as he supposed, with the instructions issued by the Queen. Drake ought, he said, merely to have watched the Spanish coast and attacked any hostile fleet that might

have come out to meet him, instead of going, in excess of boldness, to attack the shipping in the Spanish forts, as had been done at Cadiz. Much more of that timid, grumbling sort wrote Burrows.* Drake's answer to the letter was, immediately upon receiving it, to place the discontented Vice-Admiral under arrest. Burrows was confined to his cabin for two days, and only reinstated after he had written a penitent letter, promising obedience in the future.† The breach was not healed, but any serious hindrance of Drake's projects was averted.

Burrows' special ground of complaint had been a plan propounded by Drake on the 29th of April, for employing a thousand men upon a land attack on Lagos. This plan he put in force, with nearly enough failure to justify Burrows' objections, on the 4th of May. The thousand men were disembarked five miles from the town, and marched boldly up through corn-fields and vineyards. Four hundred horsemen, "bravely horsed, but very ill manned," came out to meet them, but ran away before they were within reach of shot. The town, however, was too well guarded for its capture to be possible, and the invaders had to retire after sustaining considerable injury, which was feebly atoned for by the distant bombardment of the fleet. The English waited on the shore for two hours, hoping that the Spaniards would come out and fight. The challenge being refused, they went back to their ships.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cc., No. 57.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccii., No. 14.

Better success attended an attack which was made next day upon Sagres, half way between Lagos and Cape Saint Vincent. "We landed about eight hundred men, all musket, small shot, and pikemen," says the chronicler of the expedition, "our General meaning to satisfy his valiant mind in doing some worthy exploits upon our enemy's land. When we had landed our men, we marched towards a fort called Avalera, upon which was a flag; from which fort, when they saw us so boldly to approach them, they fled unto their great fort or castle Cape Sagres. The fort called Avalera, with certain brass pieces we took; which with certain of our men was kept. All the rest marched towards the castle, the walls whereof were esteemed thirty foot high and ten foot broad, and on the east, south, and west it is all a main rock, without passage, at least thirty fathoms high, and fifteen brass pieces were therein planted. As we marched along by them they shot at us, but did us no hurt. And then and there, by the commandment of our General, thirty musket shot went and skirmished with them in the castle; and, when they had continued some time in skirmishing with them, and spent most of their powder and shot, they all returned to our main battle again, having no man slain, but some a little hurt. Upon which our General summoned the captain of the castle to a parley, commanding him to yield it up, which he then utterly denied. Whereupon our General sent for wood from our ships to set on fire the uttermost gate; and he himself, to see the same act performed, with great industry carried of the said

wood and other provision in person, and did help to set it on fire. whilst the vanguard of our main battle skirmished with them in their faces on the walls; during which time of fight with them we had two of our men slain outright, and divers sore hurt. In which time, the captain of the castle being sore wounded, and they all within, to the number of two hundred and forty, wonderfully daunted with our bold enterprises, they put out their flag of truce, and yielded; when we entered, and finding within the said castle the foresaid number of two hundred and forty persons, our General most favourably licensed them to depart." From that fortress Drake sent to the captains of the castle at Cape Saint Vincent, quite as large as the one he had conquered, and another fort in the neighbourhood, such messages as led to the peaceable surrender of their keys and the hasty retreat of the soldiers in charge of them. He stayed on shore for the night, and next morning, having taken from them as many of their guns as he could carry away, he set both castles and both forts on fire, and brought his fleet into the harbour of Cape Saint Vincent.*

There he halted for four days, destroying all the war shipping that he could find. He had done the same on his way from Cadiz, and he continued to do it for the rest of his stay in Spanish waters. During the ten days preceding, and the ten days following his arrival at Cape Saint Vincent, as he said in a letter to Walsingham, "we have taken forty ships, barks, and caravels.

* LENG, pp. 17, 18.

and divers other vessels more than a hundred, most laden, some with oars for galleys, plank and timber for ships and pinnaces, hoops and pipe-staves for casks, with many other provisions for this great army," which was to invade England. "I assure your Honour the hoops and pipe-staves were above 16,000 or 17,000 tons in weight; all which I commanded to be consumed into smoke and ashes by fire, which will be unto the King no small waste unto his provisions, besides the want of his barks."*

Part of this mischief was done after Drake had quitted Cape Saint Vincent. Setting sail again on the 10th of May he went towards Lisbon, which by Philip's seizure of Portugal in 1580 had become the greatest of Spanish ports, intending to treat its shipping as he had treated that of Cadiz. There and on the way thither, however, the enemy's force was so great that even he, with all his boldness, was deterred from causing very much destruction. In one long day a favourable wind took him up to Cascaes, at the mouth of the Tagus; and there he lay at anchor, caring little for the shot that was aimed at him from the castle and from eight galleys in the harbour, and being little hurt by it. Thence he sent a message to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, proposing to give up his Spanish captives for English prisoners, man for man.† "The Marquis sent me word," he says, "that, as he was a gentleman, he had none, and that I should assure myself that, if he had any, he

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cci., No. 83.

† LENG, pp. 18, 19.

would surely have sent them me ; which I knew was not so, for I had true intelligence by Englishmen and Portuguese that the Marquis had divers Englishmen both in his galleys and prisons. Whereupon it is agreed by us all, her Majesty's captains and masters, that all such Spaniards as it shall please God to send under our hands, shall be sold unto the Moors, and the money reserved for the redeeming of such of our countrymen as may be redeemed therewith.* Many fresh captures of Spaniards he made with this handling of them in view, and a great deal of further mischief he effected among the smaller shipping that was to be found between Cascaes and Lisbon and along the opposite shore. He was anxious that the Marquis of Santa Cruz should bring out his galleys, of which as many as twenty-four were assembled near Lisbon, for open fight. But this the Spaniards dared not do, and Drake durst not attack them in harbour, where they were under cover of the great artillery on land. So he returned to Cape Saint Vincent on the 12th of May.†

There he waited for six days, intending to wait much longer. He had done his utmost in fulfilment of his purpose "to singe King Philip's beard," and now he paused in hopes that Philip would send a fleet to resist him, and be defeated by him, in open sea. He waited also for instructions from home. "For the revenge of these things," he said in a letter to Walsingham, dated the 17th of May, "what forces the country is able to

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cci., No. 33.

† *Ibid.* ; LENG, pp. 19, 20 ; Appendix to the same, p. 46.

make, we shall be sure to have brought upon us, as far as they may, with all the devices and traps they can devise. When they come, they shall be but the sons of mortal men, and, for the most part, enemies to the truth, and upholders of balls to Dagon's image, which hath already fallen before the ark of our God, with his hands, arms, and head stricken off. As long as it shall please God to give us provisions to eat and drink, and that our ships and wind and weather will permit us, you shall surely hear of us near this Cape of Saint Vincent; where we do and will expect daily what her Majesty and your Honours will farther command. God make us all thankful that her Majesty sent out these few ships in time. If there were here six more of her Majesty's good ships of the second sort, we should be the better able to keep their forces from joining, and haply take or impeach their fleets from all places in the next month, and so after, which is the chiefest time of their return home,—which I judge, in my poor opinion, will bring this great monarchy to those conditions which are meet. God make us all thankful, again and again, that we have, although it be little, made a beginning upon the coast of Spain. If we can thoroughly believe that this which we do is in the defence of our religion and country, no doubt but our merciful God, for His Christ our Saviour's sake, is able, and will give us victory. There must be a beginning of any great matter, but the continuing unto the end, until it be thoroughly finished, is the true glory.*

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccl., No. 38.

Drake waited in vain for instructions. Along with his reports of his achievements, and his opinions thereupon, Queen Elizabeth received letters from Spain and from the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands, complaining bitterly of the mischief that was being done in her name, and demanding Drake's immediate recall and punishment, unless she was prepared to receive in her own seas and realm the direst vengeance that Spain could bring upon her. To these her Council replied that she had sent special orders to Drake forbidding such conduct as he was reported to have been guilty of, but that the ship entrusted with these orders had been driven back by contrary winds, so that they had never reached him. "And for the better manifesting of her Majesty's disposition therein," it was added, "we can assure you that her Highness, understanding of some attempts of the said Drake's by land, is greatly offended with him for the same, and meaneth at his return to carry him to his answer; which sheweth most apparently the continuance of her Majesty's good disposition."* It is clear that Queen Elizabeth in her heart approved of Drake's proceedings; but she still wished to maintain a show of friendliness towards King Philip; therefore, having equally good reasons for neither recalling nor reinforcing him, she prudently abstained from sending him any communication at all.

Nor did Drake wait long for a communication from England. On the 17th of May he heard that ten

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Flanders Correspondence*, in HOPPER, pp. 43, 44.

Spanish galleys, probably the ten that he had left at Cadiz, had come to Lagos, intending, if possible, to join the force of twenty-four ships at Lisbon. Next morning he went in pursuit of them, and with a few vigorous broadsides drove them close into the harbour, where he did not find it expedient to follow them. He therefore returned to his halting-place, finding a little amusement on his way in driving three small vessels aground. On the following day, for another small diversion, he put four hundred men on land near Sagres, who despoiled and set fire to a fishermen's village.*

That was ignoble work, and Drake seems to have grown tired of it. It was wearisome also to the captains of the merchant ships who, being sent out with the special object of acquiring rich booty, had not much satisfaction in the destruction of property which, though very ruinous to the Spaniards, yielded no direct profit to the English. Therefore, a new series of exploits was resolved upon, to be begun by an expedition to the Azores, the usual halting-place of the richly-laden carracks of Spain and Portugal coming from the East and West Indies. With this object, Drake spent two days in transferring most of the captured stores and all his sick and wounded men to five vessels which he had taken from the Spaniards at Cadiz and elsewhere. That was done, and the detachment started for England to have a short and easy passage on the 22nd of May.†

Drake's new project, however, was in great part frustrated. Directing his course on the same day for

* *LEMO*, p. 20.

† *Ibid.*

the Azores, a terrible storm befell his fleet before midnight. It lasted for three days, during which the vessels were dispersed. The *Elizabeth Bonaventure* was in sore danger of being wrecked, and all the other ships were more or less damaged. When, on the 25th, Drake proceeded to collect them, he found that all his merchant auxiliaries had taken fright and made for England.* Nor was that his only trouble. The old discontent of William Burrows had never been really overcome. "Burrows hath not carried himself in this action so well as I wish he had done for his own sake," Drake said in a letter to Burghley on the 21st of May; "and his persisting hath committed a double offence, not only against me, but it toucheth further."† Then, or before, he had been again superseded, and Captain Marchant had been put in charge of the *Golden Lion*; but this change wrought no good. A mutiny broke out in the ship on the 26th or 27th of May, and, deserting Drake in his time of trouble, it followed the merchant ships to England; whence, on the 5th of June, Burrows wrote to Lord Admiral Howard, detailing his account of the affair.‡ This was followed, a month or two afterwards, by a long and lame contradiction of the charges brought against him by Sir Francis Drake,§ which so far succeeded as to save him from a severe punishment.

* LENG, p. 21.

† BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Cotton*, cited by BARROW, *Life of Drake*, p. 229.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccii., No. 14.

§ BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Lansdowne*, cited by BARROW, pp. 249-255. See also RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccii., Nos. 66, 67; vol. cciii., No. 1; vol. ccviii., No. 77.

In 1588 he did some useful service in the Armada Fight.

After the defection of the *Golden Lion* and the merchant ships, Drake's fleet was reduced to nine vessels, the three ships and two pinnaces furnished by the Queen, and four others, which probably belonged to himself and his friends. With this force he judged it impossible to do more in attacking Spain in its own waters, defended by galleys and other fighting craft which, though individually no match for his vessels, were numerous enough to overwhelm him with ease. Therefore he determined to return promptly to England. First, however, in accordance with his previous plan, he proceeded, in search of booty, to the Azores. There, with very little difficulty, he had as much success as he could have hoped for. On the 8th of June, after sixteen days' sailing, he came within sight of Saint Michael's Island. "In the morning of the 9th," says the chronicler of the voyage, "we descried a great sail, who, by our judgment, made towards us, and we, having a pretty gale of wind, with all speed made towards her; but by the time we had sailed towards her about one league, we might perceive her to be a mighty ship, which was then called a carrack, having out a Portugal flag and red cross. But we, knowing what she was, would put out no flag until we were within shot of her, when we hanged out flags, streamers, and pendants, that she might be out of doubt to know who we were; which done, we hailed her with cannon-shot, and having shot her through divers times, she shot at us, sometimes at

one, sometimes at another. Then we began to apply her hotly, our flyboat and one of our pinnaces lying thwart her hawse, at whom she shot and threw fireworks, but did them no hurt, for that her ordnance lay so high over them. Then, she seeing us ready to lay her on board, all of our ships applying her so hotly and resolutely, determined to make short with her, six of her men being slain, and divers sore hurt, they yielded unto us; whom, when we boarded, we found to be the King of Spain's own ship come from the East Indies, called by his name, Philip, and the greatest ship in all Portugal, richly laden, to our happy joy and great gladness. There were also in her four hundred Niggers, whom they had taken to make slaves in Spain and Portugal, whom our General, with the captain and his company, to the number of two hundred and forty, put into our flyboat to go whither they list, and further dealt most favourably with them."*

Drake might well afford to deal favourably with the crews and captives of the *San Filipe*, as the great carrack was called. Guarding her with his little fleet, he set sail at once for England, and reached Plymouth on the 26th of June, just twelve weeks after his departure.† His great achievements won for him the enthusiastic admiration of all honest patriots, and, if Queen Elizabeth ever meant to punish him for going beyond his instructions in the daring work that had done so much harm and caused so much annoyance to the Spaniards, she now no longer thought of it.

* LENG, pp. 21, 22.

† *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Even greater, however, than the joy that arose from his great destruction of Spanish shipping, and his notable wasting of the Spanish preparations for invading England, seems to have been the joy with which the great prize that he brought home was regarded by both Queen and people. No merchant ship so large or so richly laden had ever before been seen in England. The spices and drugs, silks and taffetas, calicoes and carpets, that it contained were valued at 108,049*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*, and by it alone were defrayed all the expenses of the expedition, with surplus enough to give ample profit both to Queen Elizabeth and to the other adventurers who had embarked their ships and money in the work.*

But the gain in money to England and the loss in money to Spain was as nothing in comparison with England's gain and Spain's loss in credit. Sir Francis Drake's great exploits probably did not delay the invasion of England, which Philip was reported to be preparing for 1587, as the preparations were not completed in time for that year; and they certainly gave an immense stimulus to the further preparations which issued in the despatching of the Invincible Armada in 1588. But they showed to English Protestants and their friends upon the continent, that the reputation acquired by Spain for superiority over all other nations was only a pretence, and cleared the way for the much

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cciv., Nos. 2, 8, 9, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 39, 40, 52; vol. ccv., Nos. 2, 12, 54, 55; vol. ccvi., No. 4. See also an estimate of the value of the *San Filipe* and its cargo, differing from the amount stated above, in the BRITISH MUSEUM MSS., *Lansdowne*, cxv., No. 89.

completer spoiling of the delusion that was presently to take place. Drake had succeeded very well in the intention with which he had quitted England, "to singe King Philip's beard." King Philip, irritated beyond endurance by that last and greatest of a series of indignities that he had been receiving from English seamen during thirty years, put out all his strength to resent it; but only to receive a yet greater indignity, which was the turning-point in the crooked course of his tyrannical rule, and also the beginning of the decadence of Spain.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GREAT ARMADA FIGHT.

[1588.]

IF Sir Francis Drake's great exploits on the coast of Spain and Portugal prevented Philip II. from invading England in 1587, they were certainly a great incentive to the invasion that was attempted in 1588. The preparations thereto which had been in process for some years, and which Drake had so seriously retarded, were continued with redoubled energy as soon as it was known that he was once more in England. Philip's eagerness to be revenged for that injury was further quickened by the disgrace which it had brought upon him and his forces among both enemies and friends. Even Pope Sixtus V. is reported, when he heard of Drake's successes, to have exclaimed "that the Queen of England's distaff was worth more than Philip's sword."* That taunt, and the hundreds like it that

* MOTLEY, vol. II., p. 461. Mr. Motley having said so much about the history of the Armada Fight, and the theme having been so often handled by others, I have here made my account as brief as possible, limiting myself almost entirely to such illustrations of English seamanship as seemed absolutely necessary to my subject, and drawing these, as far as possible, from new or little-used material.

were muttered or said openly in and out of Philip's hearing, determined him to do his utmost towards retrieving his disgrace, and resenting the indignities that had been accumulating for nearly thirty years, by one decisive and overwhelming movement.

The movement was to be made by as formidable and well-manned a fleet as Philip could put upon the sea, under the command of the Chief Admiral, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and send to the neighbourhood of Calais for further augmentation by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the Viceroy in the Netherlands in succession to the Duke of Alva, who was to take command of the whole expedition. Fortunately for England and the world, Santa Cruz was over-timid. The public indignities and the private losses that Drake had put upon him in 1587 had only served to dishearten the Chief Admiral, never very bold. He feared to place himself in any fresh contact with Drake and Drake's countrymen, and, after repeated orders to complete his arrangements and set sail, which he met with elaborate excuses and elaborate delays, he died of worry and vexation. Thereby the invasion, which had been planned for January, was not entered upon until the middle of June, and England had time to prepare for resisting it.

That resistance was made difficult through the dilatoriness of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burghley. Remembering how easily Drake had damaged the Spaniards off Cadiz, and hoping to the very last that their diplomacy would prevent Philip from putting his threats in force, they showed a lack of foresight, and a blind-

ness even to the plain tokens of the present, that were a marvel to all but themselves and the few who thought with them, and a source of honest annoyance, honestly expressed, to every ardent patriot. "Since England was England," wrote Lord Admiral Howard to Walsingham on the 27th of January, with reference to efforts on behalf of peace that were being made in the Netherlands and ostensibly favoured by the Prince of Parma, "there never was such a stratagem and mask to deceive her Majesty as this treaty of peace. I pray God that we do not curse for this a long grey beard with a white head witless"—the head and beard being Burghley's—"that will make all the world think us heartless. For my part, I have made of the French King, the Scottish King, and the King of Spain, a Trinity that I mean never to trust to be saved by, and I would that others were of my opinion."*

Many others were of that opinion, and Elizabeth and her temporising counsellors were forced to yield to it, in part at any rate. Howard showed his wisdom in adopting and promoting the views of men more experienced than himself. As heretofore Drake was most zealous in argument, Hawkins in such modes of action as appertained to his multifarious duties as Comptroller of the Navy. Throughout the later months of 1587 and the early part of 1588 Hawkins was doing his utmost to see that all the Queen's ships were duly fitted out for service, well victualled and properly manned.†

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccviii., No. 30.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccvi., Nos. 30, 42, and other papers.

On the 21st of December, 1587, Howard, newly commissioned as "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Navy and Army prepared to the seas against Spain," went to Chatham to take charge of the *White Bear*, a ship of 1,000 tons burthen, and next day he reported that in it and in the other ships there stationed were "as sufficient and able a company of sailors as ever was seen."* This squadron was afterwards entrusted to Sir Henry Palmer, soon to be superseded by Lord Henry Seymour, and appointed to watch the Narrow Seas.† Another squadron was being prepared by Sir Francis Drake at Plymouth, for the protection of the west coast.‡ Lord Howard, in the meanwhile, went to superintend the further preparations that were being made at Dover, Harwich, Portsmouth, and other sea-towns.§ He found that there were twenty ships in all, manned by two thousand and ninety-four sailors.||

This was certainly no great armament. On the 1st of February Howard wrote to Walsingham begging for further strengthening of the fleet instead of the weakening of the force which was contemplated. "The enemy now make but little reckoning of us," he said, "and know that we are but like bears tied to stakes, and that they may come like dogs to offend us."¶

On the same day Hawkins wrote to urge that the only way to gain solid peace was to enter upon a determined

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccvi., Nos. 41, 42, 43, 46.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccviii., Nos. 6, 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccviii., Nos. 6, 8.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccviii., No. 14.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. ccviii., No. 27.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. ccviii., No. 46.

and resolute war. "We might have peace," he said, "but not with God. Rather than serve Baal, let us die a thousand deaths. Let us have open war with these Jesuits, and every man will contribute, fight, devise, or do, for the liberty of our country." He begged to be allowed the use of six large and six small ships for four months, with eighteen hundred mariners and soldiers, to be employed in another raid upon the Spanish coast and in all sorts of hindering of the Armada, whether in port or on its way. He promised that he would "distress anything that went through the seas," and besides the injury to Philip, that he would acquire booty enough to pay four times over the cost of the expedition.*

That offer was rejected, as also was a more modest and less useful one of Lord Howard's, to use the Narrow Seas squadron in an attack upon Scotland, then in feeble league with Spain.† But the sea force was steadily augmented. By the middle of February the crews had risen in number to three thousand and fifteen.‡ "Our ships do show like gallants here," wrote Sir William Winter to Hawkins, on the 28th of the month. "It would do a man's heart good to behold them. Would to God the Prince of Parma were on the seas with all his forces, and we in sight of them. You should hear that we would make his enterprise very unpleasant to him."§

Next day, in a letter to Burghley, Lord Howard, still begging for reinforcements, expressed similar con-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ceviii., No. 47.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ceviii., No. 67.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ceviii., Nos. 65, 70.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ceviii., No. 85.

fidence. "Let me have the four great ships and twenty hoys, with but twenty men apiece, and each with but two iron pieces, and her Majesty shall have a good account of the Spanish forces, and I will make the King wish his galleys home again. Few as we are, if his forces be not hundreds, we will make good sport with them when they come."* The four ships asked for were the *White Bear*, the *Triumph*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and the *Victory*,† which, as Howard bitterly complained in a letter to Walsingham on the 9th of March, her Majesty was keeping "to protect Chatham Church withal, when they should be serving their turn abroad." He complained also of the Queen's conduct to Drake, by which he had been prevented from not getting his Plymouth squadron in complete order for sea-service.‡ "The fault is not in him," he added, two days later, "but I pray God her Majesty do not repent her slack dealing. All who come out of Spain must concur in one to lie, or else we shall be stirred very shortly with a 'heave ho!' I fear ere long her Majesty will be sorry she hath believed some so much as she hath done."§

Her Majesty and her more cautious advisers, however, persisted in believing, their belief being much aided by a desire to spend as little money as possible in the work of defending England from the threatened invasion. Amid a heap of documents showing how the whole country was astir with eager preparation—how

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccviii., No. 87.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccix., No. 27.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccix., No. 12.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccix., No. 15.

every gentleman who had a bark or boat in any way adapted for fighting was furnishing it anew, and how rude fishermen all along the coast crowded up to offer their services as sailors; how the merchants of London and their apprentices met every Tuesday to exercise themselves and the great body of the citizens in warlike practices, and how honest shopkeepers and shopboys, from Exeter up to Hull, and from Dover up to Chester, were following their example—it is curious to find, with others of the same sort, calculations in Lord Burghley's handwriting as to the economy of feeding the sailors in the Queen's ships with fish on three days and bacon once a week, instead of the usual ration of fourpennyworth of beef each day.* And Queen Elizabeth herself was of the same mind. The four ships which Howard had asked for were ordered to be furnished for active service; but the Queen was loth to use any of them, and especially the *Elizabeth Jonas*, a stout vessel of 900 tons burthen, which carried more guns and not fewer seamen than any of the other ships. "Lord! when should she serve if not at such a time as this?" wrote Howard to Walsingham on the 7th of April. "Either she is fit now to serve or fit for the fire. I hope never in my time to see so great a cause for her to be used. The King of Spain doth not keep any ship at home, either of his own or any other that he can get for money. I am sorry that her Majesty is so careless of this most dangerous time. I fear me much, and with grief I think it, that she relieth on a hope that

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccix., Nos. 16, 17.

will deceive her and greatly endanger her, and then it will not be her money nor her jewels that will help. Well, well, I must pray heartily for peace, for I see the support of an honourable war will never appear. Sparing and war have no affinity together.”* And next day we find Howard writing even more boldly to Lord Burghley, to complain of the way in which the ships were only supplied with rations for a month at a time. “King Harry, her Majesty’s father, never made a lesser proportion of supply than six weeks.”†

Yet Elizabeth was a true daughter of the great King Harry, and she spoke no more than truth in the famous words with which, before the fate of the Invincible Armada, already vanquished, was known on land, she encouraged the soldiers who, after three more months of waiting and preparation, had little need of encouragement, in Tilbury camp. Some of her counsellors, dreading Catholic treachery, had begged her not to show herself just then in public. “Let tyrants fear,” she said; “I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccix., No. 74.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccix., No. 78.

king, and of a King of England too, and think it foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.”*

There would have been no need for Elizabeth to head her land-forces, few and feebly armed as they were, in resisting the Spanish invaders on their first landing upon English ground. There was no need even for those forces to waste any of their scanty store of ammunition in anything but peals of rejoicing at the victory won by their comrades on the sea.

The strongest body of those comrades, after the squadron of the Queen's own ships, was the irregular squadron prepared at Plymouth by Sir Francis Drake. Drake, like Hawkins, had been anxious during all the waiting time to go out and meet the Armada in Spanish waters, or even hinder it from ever passing out of Spanish harbours. “It will put great and good hearts,” he said, writing from Plymouth to the Lords of the Council, on the 30th of March, “into her Majesty's loving subjects both abroad and at home, for that they will be persuaded in conscience that the Lord of all strengths will put into her Majesty and her people courage and boldness not to fear any invasion in her own country, but to seek God's enemies and her Majesty's where they may be found; for the Lord is on our

* *Somere Tracts*, vol. i., p. 429.

side, whereby we may assure ourselves our numbers are greater than theirs. My very good lords, next under God's protection the advantage and gain of time and place will be the only and chief mean for our good. With fifty sail of shipping we shall do more good upon their own coast than a great many more will do here at home, and the sooner we are gone the better we shall be able to impeach them. As God in His goodness hath put my hand to the plough, so, in His mercy, He will never suffer me to turn back from the truth."*

Queen Elizabeth so far heeded Drake's project as to write and ask him how he proposed to deal with Philip's forces. "If your Majesty," he answered, on the 13th of April, "will give present order for our proceeding to the sea and send to the strengthening of this fleet here four more of your Majesty's good ships and those sixteen sail of ships with their pinnaces which are preparing in London, then shall your Majesty stand assured, with God's assistance, that, if the fleet come out of Lisbon, as long as we have victual to live withal upon that coast, they shall be fought with, and I hope, through the goodness of our merciful God, in such sort as shall hinder their quiet passage into England; for, I assure your Majesty, I have not in my lifetime known better men and possessed with gallanter minds than your Majesty's people are for the most part, which are here gathered together voluntarily to put their hands and hearts to the finishing of this great piece of work." But Drake reminded the Queen that even God could

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cix., No. 40.

not be expected to supply the mariners with victuals, unless her Majesty consented to be His instrument, and that, unless better care was taken of them than had hitherto been done, everything might be lost "for the sparing of a few crowns." "Whereof," he added, "I most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty to have such consideration as the weightiness of the cause requireth."*

Drake's arguments, as regards the expedition against Spain, though not as regards the increased issue of victuals, prevailed with the Queen, but not soon enough to be of any use. On the 21st of May, leaving with Lord Henry Seymour a sufficient fleet to protect the Narrow Seas from any invasion that might be attempted by the Prince of Parma with the small naval force at his command, Lord Howard left Dover with the greater number of the Queen's ships and a great many private vessels furnished by London and other ports in the eastern counties, forty or fifty sail in all. On the morning of the 23rd he entered Plymouth Road, and there was met by Sir Francis Drake and a goodly fleet of sixty vessels, a few of them Queen's ships and the rest stout barks and pinnaces fitted out by the towns and private adventurers in the west country.† There he intended to stay only two days, but he was detained a week or more by contrary winds. On the 28th he wrote two letters to Burghley, saying that his

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccix., No. 89. No. 112 is a similar letter from Drake to the Queen, dated the 28th of April.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccx., No. 28.

fleet of about a hundred sail had only victuals for eighteen days;—"with the gallantest company of captains, soldiers, and sailors ever seen in England it were pity they should lack meat!"—but that at the first suitable moment he should sail towards Spain to meet the Armada, which was supposed to be on its way. Go out they must, though they should starve—"the fault lay not with him"—as it seemed to him far better to conquer the Spaniards away from England than off the coast, where, even if they were beaten, they would be likely to do much damage in their desperate struggle for life.*

He did go out a day or two after thus writing, intending to take up his station off Bayona, and there wait for the Spanish fleet, unless he met it on the way. But before he had gone so far, a violent gale from the south disarranged his plans. His ships were driven out to sea, partly dispersed, and, through a three days' storm, as he said, "danced as lustily as the gallantest dancers in the Court." Fearing that thus the Armada might pass him unobserved and reach England before him, he went back with the wind, and returned to Plymouth on the 13th of June.† There he found a letter from Walsingham, reproving him in the Queen's name for having gone so far away, and leaving England almost unprotected.‡ In his answer he justified his conduct. "It was deeply debated," he said, "by those whom the world doth judge to be men of the greatest experience

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccx., Nos. 35, 36.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxi., Nos. 17, 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxi., No. 8.

that this realm hath, which are these:—Sir Francis Drake, Master Hawkins, Master Frobisher, and Master Thomas Fenner; and I hope her Majesty will not think we went so rashly to work, or without a principal or choice care and respect of the safety of this realm. If we found they did but linger on their own coast, or put into the isles of Bayona or the Groyne, then we thought, in all men's judgments that be of experience here, it had been most fit to have sought some good way, and the surest we could devise, by the good protection of God to have defeated them." He added that he was more likely to miss the enemy near home than off the coast of Spain, seeing that they must necessarily pass Bayona and Cape Finisterre on their way from Lisbon, but that after that it was uncertain whether they would go eastward towards the Netherlands, coast the west of Ireland, and land somewhere to the south of Scotland, or try to secretly get possession of the Isle of Wight, there to fortify themselves, and proceed to invade England at leisure. "But," he said, "I must and will obey."*

That move of Howard's was as bold as anything in the history of sailor boldness under the Tudors. With the scanty information that has come down to us, we can neither condemn nor justify it. It had this advantage, at any rate, that it gave to Howard, Drake, and the other leaders of the fleet an opportunity of testing their powers in manœuvring a force far greater than had ever yet been under their command, its first

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxi., No. 26.

trial of strength being in contest with nothing but a boisterous storm.

Only a narrow chance prevented the small battle with wind and sea from being simultaneous with a great battle with the Spanish fleet. The storm that gave annoyance to the English ships somewhere to the north of the Spanish coast was causing serious damage to the Armada off Cape Finisterre, and a few hours' delay of the gale would probably have brought them within sight of one another.

The Most Fortunate and Invincible Armada, after waiting a month at Lisbon for fair weather, had passed out of the Tagus on the 20th of May.* It comprised a hundred and thirty-two ships of various sizes, entrusted, after the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, to the Duke of Medina Sidonia as Captain-General or Lord Admiral. Its total tonnage was about 60,000. Its cannon and demi-cannon, culverins and demi-culverins, and other kinds of great guns, numbered 3,165 in all. Besides 8,766 sailors it gave employment to 2,088 galley-slaves, and it conveyed 21,855 soldiers, officers, and volunteers for the invasion of England, besides about 300 monks, priests, and functionaries of the Inquisition, who were to take spiritual charge of the heretic island as soon as it was conquered. There was room also for some 17,000 soldiers to be taken on board with the Prince of Parma, as Commander-in-Chief, somewhere near to Calais. The entire fighting force at sea was

* The 30th of May is the date usually given from Spanish authorities. Spain then used the new style; England adhered to the old. I have therefore followed throughout the English mode of reckoning.

thus about 50,000 strong ; though only half that number could leave the ships, and march up to London.*

To withstand this great armament, Queen Elizabeth had only thirty-four of her own ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 11,850, containing in all 837 guns, and 6,279 sailors and soldiers, less in numerical strength than a fourth of the Spanish force. But London and all the seaports from Bristol round the coast to Hull, wealthy noblemen and patriots of all grades, as we

* These are the official statistics of its size and composition :—

No. of Ships.	—	Tons.	Guns.	Sailors.	Soldiers.
12	The Squadron of Portuguese Galeons, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia	7,739	389	1,242	3,086
16	The Fleet of Castile, under Don Diego de Valdez	8,054	474	1,793	2,924
11	The Fleet of Andalusia, under Don Pedro de Valdez	8,692	315	776	2,359
14	The Fleet of Biscay, under Don Juan Martinez de Ricaldé . . .	5,861	302	906	2,117
14	The Fleet of Guipuzcoa, under Don Miguel de Oquendo	7,192	296	608	2,120
10	The Eastern or Italian Fleet, under Don Martin de Bartendona . . .	8,632	319	844	2,792
23	A Squadron of Hulks or Store Ships, under Don Juan Gomez de Medina	10,860	466	950	4,170
24	A Squadron of Tenders and Caravels, under Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza	2,090	204	746	1,103
4	A Squadron of Neapolitan Gallies, under Don Hugo de Moncada	?	200	477	744
4	A Squadron of Portuguese Gallies, under Don Diego de Medrado . .	?	200	424	440
132		59,120	3,165	8,766	21,855

have seen, helped to swell the force.* Twenty barks, the largest of 85 tons burthen, were contributed by the Netherlanders, who had only just begun to build war-

* Some scores of more or less conflicting statements are among the RECORD OFFICE MSS. and elsewhere. The numbers given in MURDIN'S *State Papers* give about the average of them, and are, therefore, probably tolerably correct :—

No. of Ships.		Tons.	Men.
34	Her Majesty's Ships, under the Lord High Admiral	12,250	6,279
10	Chartered Ships under the Lord High Admiral.	750	239
32	Volunteers serving with Sir Francis Drake . .	5,120	2,348
38	Ships fitted out by the City and Merchants of London	6,130	2,710
20	Coasters with the Lord High Admiral	1,930	993
23	Coasters with Lord Henry Seymour	2,248	1,073
18	Volunteers with the Lord High Admiral . .	1,716	859
15	Victuallers	?	810
7	Other Vessels not described	?	474
197		30,144	15,785

The details of the Queen's own Navy are as follows :—

Names of the Ships.	Names of the Captains.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.
<i>Ark Royal</i>	Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral .	800	425	55
<i>Revenge</i>	Sir Francis Drake, Vice- Admiral	500	250	40
<i>Victory</i>	Sir John Hawkins, Rear- Admiral	800	400	42
<i>Elizabeth Bonaventure</i>	Earl of Cumberland . .	600	250	34
<i>Rainbow</i>	Lord Henry Seymour . .	500	250	38
<i>Golden Lion</i>	Lord Thomas Howard . .	500	250	38
<i>White Bear</i>	Lord Edmund Sheffield .	1,000	500	40
<i>Vanguard</i>	Sir William Winter . . .	500	250	40
<i>Elizabeth Jonas</i> . .	Sir Robert Southwell . .	900	500	56
<i>Antelope</i>	Sir Henry Palmer	400	160	30
<i>Triumph</i>	Sir Martin Frobisher . .	1,100	500	42
<i>Dreadnought</i>	Sir George Berton	400	200	32
<i>Mary Rose</i>	Edward Fenton	600	250	36
<i>Nonpareil</i>	Thomas Fenner	500	250	38

ships for themselves; and the whole fleet commanded by Lord Howard comprised about two hundred vessels, large and small, more in mere numbers than the Spanish fleet, with an aggregate of about 30,000 tons burthen, and containing some 16,000 mariners and fighting men, each about half as numerous as those of the Spaniards. Under Howard, Sir Francis Drake served as Vice-Admiral, and Hawkins as Rear-Admiral. Lord Henry Seymour was still employed, with three or four of the Queen's ships, and most of the Dutch reinforcements, in watching the Narrow Seas, and seeing that Parma made no attempt to cross them with any part of his army. The rest of the ships had Plymouth for their head-quarters.

Names of the Ships.	Names of the Captains.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.
<i>Hope</i>	Robert Cross	600	250	48
<i>Bonavolia</i>	William Burrows.	?	250	?
<i>Swiftsure</i>	Edward Fenner	400	200	42
<i>Swallow</i>	Richard Hawkins	360	160	8
<i>Foresight</i>	Christopher Baker	300	160	37
<i>Aid</i>	William Fenner	250	120	18
<i>Bull</i>	Jeremy Turner	200	100	?
<i>Tiger</i>	John Bostock	200	100	22
<i>Tramontana</i>	Luke Ward	120	70	21
<i>Scout</i>	Henry Ashley	120	70	10
<i>Achates</i>	Henry Rigges	100	60	13
<i>Charles</i>	John Roberts	70	40	16
<i>Moon</i>	Alexander Clifford	60	40	9
<i>Advice</i>	John Harris	50	40	9
<i>Spy</i>	Ambrose Ward	50	40	9
<i>Martin</i>	Walter Gower	50	35	7
<i>Sun</i>	Richard Buckley	40	30	5
<i>Cygnets</i>	John Shrive	30	20	?
<i>Brigantine</i>	Thomas Scott	?	35	?
<i>George-a-Hoy</i>	Richard Hodges	120	24	?
		12,220	6,279	835

There Howard, with Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Fenner for his chief advisers, watched eagerly for the coming of the Armada, and, during five weeks of further waiting, did his utmost to prepare for the struggle that was impending. Hardly a day passed without his sending to the Queen or her ministers some fresh letter of entreaty and persuasion for support in his work. "For the love of God," he wrote to Walsingham on the 19th of June, "let her Majesty care not now for charges."* "For the love of Jesus Christ," he wrote to the Queen on the 23rd, "I implore your Majesty to awake thoroughly and see the villainous treasons round about you."† "Let her Majesty trust no more to Judases' kisses," he wrote to Walsingham on the same day. "Let her defend herself like a noble and mighty prince, and trust to her sword and not to their word, and then she need not to fear, for her good God will defend her."‡ In the same strain he wrote over and over again during the ensuing weeks.

In the meanwhile the Armada was slowly working its way to England. Bad weather, the clumsiness of the great galleons and galleasses, and the incompetence of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, made the voyage a very long one. Three weeks were spent in passing from Lisbon to Cape Finisterre, and there the fleet, being overtaken by the storm that drove Howard back to England, was seriously damaged. One of the largest

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxi., No. 37.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxi., No. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxi., No. 51.

of the galleys was wrecked. Two others, in the confusion, were carried out of reach by their galley-slaves, some of them being Englishmen and all haters of Spain, headed by David Gwynn, a Welshman, who slew the Spaniards and took the vessels and their cargoes to France. Many others were so much disabled by the storm that they had to put in for safety at various ports of Galicia, and finally to assemble and spend a month in repairing their injuries at Corunna, then generally known to Englishmen as the Groyne. On the 12th of July, reinforced with men and stores from Lisbon, they again set sail. Towards evening on Friday, the 19th, they had sight of Lizard Point. Thence they lay out to sea for the night, intending to surprise the English fleet at Plymouth, and begin their possession of England on the following morning.*

But they had been descried early on that Friday, somewhere between Scilly Islands and the Lizard, by a Cornish pirate named Fleming. Putting out all sail, he hurried off to Plymouth, and reported the enemy's approach. There is a tradition that Howard, Drake, and several other officers were on shore just then, playing at bowls on the Hoe. When Fleming's news arrived most of the players were for returning to their ships at once, but Drake objected. "Nay," he said, "let us play out our match. There will be plenty of time to win the game and beat the Spaniards too."†

We can well believe, however, that the game was

* MOTLEY, vol. II., pp. 470-473; SOUTHBY, vol. II., p. 349.

† TYTLER, *Life of Raleigh*.

quickly ended. Howard and his chief advisers lost no time in getting the ships ready for the work that was before them. All hands were brought on board, and set to work in overhauling the sails and rigging, seeing that guns, ammunition, and war-gear of all sorts were in good condition, and ranging the vessels in order for passing out of the harbour in the morning. Everything was ready for this soon after daybreak, when sixty-seven vessels, a third of the whole available shipping of England—the rest being either with Lord Henry Seymour off Dover, or keeping watch and ward at various points along the south coast—entered Plymouth Road. By nine o'clock they were in the open channel, and there Howard judged it best to wait, feeling sure that the Armada would make its way direct to Plymouth, or that, if a landing at any intermediate place was attempted, his scouts would bring the news soon enough for him to go to the rescue.*

He had to wait all day. The Spanish fleet did not come in sight till three o'clock in the afternoon. It showed itself to the English on-lookers like a vast array of floating castles, arranged in the shape of a half-moon, with a space of seven miles between the extremities of the crescent. Its ships, we are told, approached "very slowly, though with full sails, the winds being, as it were, weary with wafting them, and the ocean groaning under their weight."† Its lazy pomp Howard did not attempt to disturb during the short

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxii., No. 80.

† CAMDEN, vol. iii., p. 411.

remainder of that day, especially as the wind was against him. And the Spaniards, seeing to their great regret that their hope of surprising Plymouth had been vain, were glad enough to anchor for the night in the little bay off Looe.

Next morning, being Sunday, the 21st of July, they weighed anchor betimes. Having failed in his plan of seizing Plymouth at once, and so entering England, the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the more experienced Admirals who did their best to make up for his incompetence, he being a skilful soldier upon land but quite unpractised in seamanship, seem to have resolved to fight their way to the Isle of Wight, there, if possible, to find a harbour and effect a landing, or, failing in that, to go on to the Hague, and take on board their appointed chief, the Prince of Parma. Howard so far acceded to this plan as to let the Armada get ahead of him, determining, without coming to a full engagement, to harass it in the rear, until, having collected his dispersed ships, and come within reach of Seymour's squadron, he could be strong enough to attack the enemy in both front and rear, and win a thorough victory. Therefore, keeping his sixty or seventy ships in the haven, he allowed the Spanish armament to come within sight of Plymouth.*

That was done by nine o'clock on the Sunday morning. Then Howard weighed anchor and hoisted sail. "We durst not adventure to put in amongst them, their fleet being so strong," he said in his brief report of the first

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxii., No. 60.

day's work.* But he managed to do them considerable injury. A swift pinnace, fitly named the *Defiance*, fired the first shot. "Fire, smoke, and echoing cannon begun the parley," says the old historian; "and bullets, most freely interchanged between them, were messengers of each other's mind."† The rest of the English fleet carried on the fierce dispute. Howard, in the *Ark Royal*, singled out a great galley which he supposed to be the Admiral's flag-ship, but which proved to belong to the Vice-Admiral in charge of the northern wing, and forced her to retreat. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher beat the Admiral of the rear squadron. Then, with threescore other brave sea-captains, they sailed round and round the unwieldy mass of Spanish shipping, like bees around a furious bull, pausing often to inflict their sting, and then darting off before they could be punished for their boldness. The huge galleons and galleasses poured out their artillery, only to pass over the low barks and pinnaces, and sink into the sea. This unequal struggle lasted for six hours. "We had some small fight with them that Sunday afternoon," said Hawkins.‡ By three o'clock the great Spanish fleet was in utter confusion, and the Englishmen, tired of fighting for the present, paused to eat their suppers, say their prayers, and write their letters. "I will not trouble you with any long letter," said Howard in his

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxii., No. 80.

† SPEED (ed. 1632), p. 1181. Some authorities call this pinnace *Disdain*; an apt name, too.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 71.

report to Walsingham. "We are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Sir, the captains in her Majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will continue to their great commendation. There shall nothing be either neglected or unhazarded that may work the Spaniards' overthrow. And so, commending our good success to your godly prayers, I bid you hearty farewell." "Sir," he added in a postscript, "for the love of God and our country, let us have, with some speed, some great shot sent us of all bigness, for this service will continue long, and some powder in it."* Drake's letter was to Lord Henry Seymour, informing him of the Armada's arrival. "We had them in chase, and so, coming up unto them, there hath passed some common shot between our fleet and theirs, and, as far as we perceive, they are determined to sell their lives with blows." Drake never doubted that the Spaniards' lives would be sold, and he urged Seymour to prepare his squadron without delay for taking part in the purchase. The superscription of his letter was "To the Lord Henry Seymour or, in absence, to Sir William Winter, give these with speed—haste, haste, haste!"†

The spoiling of the Armada did not pause while the English rested. As soon as he had brought his fleet into some sort of order, the Duke of Medina Sidonia proceeded to scold his gunners for having spent their powder and shot in vain. Thereat the master gunner

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxii., No. 80.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxii., No. 82.

of the flag-ship of the Guipuzcoan squadron, a Dutchman, whose wife had been abused by a Spanish officer on board, determined that some powder, at any rate, should not be spent in vain. Laying a train to the ship's magazine, he fired it and then jumped overboard. In the explosion two hundred men were blown into the air and lost; fifty, who remained in the shattered hull, and some treasure, which was thought more valuable than the men, were with difficulty saved. Many of the "scorched Spaniards" were afterwards brought into Weymouth, "to the great joy of the beholders," and a quantity of gunpowder which, by a lucky accident, had not shared in the general explosion, rescued from the wreck, was employed with much satisfaction by Howard against its former possessors.*

The Spanish fleet was in fresh confusion consequent on that occurrence when the English returned to the pursuit. The flag-ship of the Andalusian squadron, under Don Pedro de Valdez, who had been a chief adviser in the expedition, came in collision first with one and then with another of the Spanish vessels that were hurrying hither and thither. Thereby her foremast was carried away and her mainmast was crippled. She could not keep up with the rest, and was therefore quietly abandoned by the Duke of Medina Sidonia. "He left me comfortless in sight of the whole fleet," said Don Pedro in his letter of complaint to Philip II.; "and greater inhumanity and unthankfulness was never

* CAMDEN, vol. iii., p. 412; SPEED, p. 1182; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., Nos. 42, 43.

heard of among men."* The Duke's apology for this conduct was that by halting for Don Pedro's assistance, instead of making good use of the night-time in escaping from the English fleet, the whole Armada would in all likelihood have been sacrificed.† Therefore Don Pedro was left to be attacked by Frobisher in the *Triumph* and Hawkins in the *Victory*. He defended himself bravely and successfully through the night; but in the morning Drake came up in the *Revenge*. "Espying this lagging galleon," says the quaint chronicler, "Sir Francis sent forth a pinnace to command them to yield, otherwise his bullets should force them without further favour. Valdez, to seem valorous, answered that they were four hundred and fifty strong, that himself was Don Pedro, and stood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certain conditions. The knight sent his reply that he had not leisure to parley; if he would yield, presently do it; if not, he should well prove that Drake was no dastard. Thereupon Pedro, hearing that it was the Fiery Drake, ever terrible to Spaniards, who had him in chase, came on board Sir Francis's ship with forty of his followers; where, first giving him the *congé*, he protested that he and all his were resolved to die in defence had they not fallen under his power, whose valour and felicity was so great that Mars and Neptune seemed to attend him in his attempts, and whose gene-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxv., No. 26.

† BARROW, *Naval Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, p. 263, citing an interesting Spanish narrative by an officer in the Duke's flag-ship, which passed from the Simancas Collection into private hands in England during the Revolutionary War.

rous mind towards the vanquished had often been experienced even of his greatest foes. Sir Francis, requiting his Spanish compliments with honourable English courtesies, placed him at his own table and lodged him in his own cabin. The residue of that company were sent unto Plymouth, where they remained eighteen months until their ransoms were paid; but Sir Francis's soldiers had well paid themselves with the spoil of the ship, wherein were 15,000 ducats in gold, which they shared merrily among them.* After keeping Don Pedro and the other chief prisoners on board the *Revenge* for ten days, Drake sent them up to London, begging Queen Elizabeth to accept the ransom they were willing to pay as a present from himself.†

By taking this galleon Drake gave great offence to Frobisher, who had hoped to make the capture and seize the spoil himself. Of Frobisher's hot temper we have already had some proof. "He thinketh to cozen us of our shares of the 15,000 ducats," he is reported to have said of Drake on the 10th of August, when all the Spanish fighting was over, and Englishmen had time to quarrel with one another; "but we will have our share, or I will make him spend the best blood in his belly, for he hath done enough of those cozening cheats already." But the quarrel ended in words.‡

Drake's capture had been made on the Monday morning. He and the two or three ships that were with

* SPEED, pp. 1181, 1182.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 73.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiv., Nos. 63, 64.

him soon overtook the fleet with which through the night Lord Howard had been dogging the path of the Armada. But nothing of importance was done through that day, save that the Duke of Medina came to a standstill on part of it, not, as Howard supposed, to offer battle, but to rearrange his ships and try to lessen their unfitness, already becoming apparent to him, for the work before them. Three galeasses, four galleons, and three dozen smaller vessels, were entrusted to Don Alonzo de Leyva for the special task of resisting the flying attacks of the English barks and pinnaces, while the main body of the Armada crawled superbly along the Channel. At the same time, in consequence of mutinous threatenings that had already reached him, the Duke appointed a serjeant-major to each ship, with instructions to hang at once any captain or subordinate who made the least objection to the orders transmitted to him.* In the evening he despatched a sloop with letters to the Prince of Parma, asking when and where he was to take on board the forces waiting for him in the Netherlands; begging also for some pilots acquainted with the British waters. "In case of the slightest gale," he said, "I know not how or where to shelter such large ships as ours."†

On Tuesday, the 23rd of July, at five o'clock in the morning, great ships and small were a little past Portland, stretching out in the direction of St. Alban's Head, the English fleet being close behind them, when the

* *Spanish Narrative* in BARROW, p. 264

† *Ibid.*; MOTLEY, vol. ii., p. 478.

wind changed from north-west to north-east. This caused some confusion, in the course of which a group of London volunteers was surrounded by Don Alonzo de Leyva's squadron. Thereupon ensued a long day of vigorous fighting. "This was the most furious and bloody skirmish of all," said the Dutch chronicler, "in which the Lord Admiral of England continued fighting amidst his enemy's fleet."* "We had a sharp and long fighting," said Hawkins.† Yet it was only skirmishing. Neither party wished for a regular battle. The Duke of Medina Sidonia desired to press on till he could effect a junction with Parma's forces. Howard thought it best to wait for Seymour's squadron and other reinforcements.

Many reinforcements he received during this Tuesday's fighting. A famous crowd of courtiers, hearing of the arrival of the Armada, had hurried from London down to the various ports at which they had appointed their little pinnaces and frigates to be in waiting. Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Earls of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Oxford were among the number. "Out of all havens of the realm resorted ships and men," it is said; "for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained and faithful service to be performed unto their prince and country."‡ The English force, which had numbered sixty sail on Saturday, had been in-

* METEREN, in HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 599.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 71.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 599.

creased to a hundred by Tuesday afternoon, when the fighting was abandoned, with the sullen consent of both sides.

It was only resumed on Wednesday by a few ships of either fleet, which, coming within gun-shot of one another, expended a few rounds of artillery apiece. Howard's ships had none to spare. Towards afternoon they were obliged to hang back and send to every town and fishing village that they passed, begging for every ounce, and every pound, and every hundredweight of powder that could be procured from cottage, hunting-box, or castle. Howard employed the waiting-time also in holding a more deliberate council of war than there had lately been leisure for. The result was the redistribution of the English fleet into five squadrons. The first was to be under the Lord Admiral himself, the second under Drake, the third under Hawkins, and the fourth under Frobisher: the fifth was to be formed of Seymour's little fleet when it arrived. "Out of every squadron small vessels were appointed to give the onset and attack the enemy on all sides simultaneously in the dead of night."^a

On Thursday, the 25th of July, there was some sharp fighting off the Isle of Wight. The *Santa Anna*, a great Spanish hulk, and a Portuguese galleon, being somewhat apart from the rest, were singled out by Frobisher for attack by his little squadron. Don Alonzo de Leyva, with a large force, hurried out to relieve them, and Frobisher found it hard work to defend himself, until

^a HARLETT, vol. i., p. 593.

Lord Admiral Howard, in his *Ark Royal*, with the *Golden Lion*, under Lord Thomas Howard, and four other large ships, came to the rescue. They opened out upon the Spanish flag-ship, and in a short time so cut up her rigging and her crew that she was forced to retire. Howard thus diverted from Frobisher more force of opposition than he could withstand. Then he gave the order for retreat, and his ships were out of reach of the Spaniards before they had time to retaliate. “These two ships, the *Ark* and the *Golden Lion*,” we are told, “declared this day to each fleet that they had most diligent and faithful gunners. The galleasses, in whose puissance the greatest hope of the Spanish fleet was founded, were never seen to fight any more: such was their entertainment that day.” In the evening the Duke of Medina wrote to the Prince of Parma, begging him to send him thirty or forty small fighting ships, if such could be procured in the Low Countries—“the heaviness of our ships,” as he said, “compared with the lightness of theirs, rendering it impossible in any manner to bring them to close action.”*

On Friday Lord Admiral Howard knighted Frobisher, Hawkins, and some others for their valiant conduct in the previous day’s engagement.† Unless compelled thereto by some unlooked-for occurrence, he resolved to have no more fighting until he was joined by the squadron of the Narrow Seas, and, as the Spaniards

* PETRUCCIO UBALDINO, *A Discourse concerning the Spanish Invasion* in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 127, 128; *Spanish Narrative* in BARROW, p. 267.

† HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 599.

also wished to pass on without delay, the two fleets proceeded quietly along the coast of Sussex as far as Dungeness, and thence across the Straits of Dover towards Calais. There the Spaniards anchored on Saturday evening, and the English stationed themselves within gunshot.

Not far from Calais, Howard was overtaken by Seymour's force of about twenty ships, which, sorely to the regret of Seymour and Sir William Winter, who was second in command, had been prevented from earlier joining in the struggle by the need of a force in the Downs to avert any invading movement that might be made separately by the Prince of Parma.* There, with some private reinforcements, he raised the entire number of the fleet to about a hundred and forty sail, and made it as strong as Howard could hope to have it, the fifty or sixty other vessels completing the naval force of England being only small craft required for the defence of special points. This statement of the number of Howard's fleet, however, is somewhat deceptive. Every man on board was a brave and honest patriot, eager to work miracles in defence of his country and his creed. But many of them were landsmen, who could do no work at all on shipboard, unless by a miracle; and many of the vessels were as useless as their masters. "If you had seen the simple service done by the merchants' and coast ships," wrote Winter to Walsingham, "you would have said we had

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., Nos. 30, 49, 50, 53; vol. ccxiv., Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7.

been little holpen by them, otherwise than that they did make a show.”*

Yet the show was worth making, and worth seeing. A rare spectacle was offered to the throng of Frenchmen who looked out to sea from Calais, and the dozen miles of shore on either side of Calais, through the moonlit night of Saturday, and the brilliant Sunday morning. To the left lay the greatest fleet that England—already, though unknown, the strongest maritime nation in Europe—had ever launched. To the right lay the greatest fleet ever constructed by the proud Spaniards who openly aspired to the empire of the world. And, stupendous as was the English armament, the Spanish armament far outshone it in splendour. “Flemings, Walloons, and French,” we are told, “came thick and threefold to behold it, admiring the exceeding greatness of the ships and their warlike order.”† They did well to look without delay and wonder without restraint. It was a sight to be seen only for a day.

Through that bright Sunday, the 28th of July, both fleets remained in eager suspense. On his arrival off Calais, the Spanish Admiral was met by messengers who informed him that the Prince of Parma was making all possible preparations for debarkation at Dunkirk, but that he could not be ready for a dozen hours or two, and that, until further orders were given, the Armada was to remain at Calais, that being a safer halting-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiv., No. 7.

† STOW, p. 748.

place. Howard knew of this, and knew that the great battle which had been delayed for a week must not be delayed for an hour after the Spaniards had weighed anchor. They must be beaten before reaching Dunkirk if they were to be beaten at all.

He had little doubt of success; but his week's experience had taught him that, though it was easy to annoy the great galleys, galleasses, and galleons of Spain, it was not easy to demolish them with the smaller ships which formed the great body of his fleet. At nine o'clock on Saturday evening, in the midst of his uncertainty as to the best way of proceeding, he was visited on board the *Ark Royal* by Sir William Winter, who had only joined the fleet some two hours before. "Considering their hugeness," Winter said in answer to Howard's request, "it will not be possible to remove them but by a device." The device was not wanting. Winter communicated it that night to Howard, and next morning it was decided in a council of war that Sir Henry Palmer should hasten across to Dover, and there procure thirty boat-loads of faggots, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Sir Henry Palmer did his errand; but he had not long been gone when the English leaders judged that it would be better not to wait for his return, which, the wind being southerly and therefore against him in each passage, could not be counted upon before Monday. Therefore they determined to make shift with such materials as they had among them. Six of the oldest vessels were emptied of all that was valuable in them, replaced by

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fire-shine

more angry sea of Ostend, and up to the mouth of the Scheldt.*

Pharaoh's chariots and horsemen, according to the tradition cherished by the hearty Protestants of Tudor times, were engulfed in a moment by the waters of the Red Sea. The angel of death passed over the hosts of Sennacherib, and in an hour they were all dead men. The God of the Calvinists dealt more slowly, but hardly less surely with the Invincible Armada of Philip II. "God hath given us so good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward," said Drake, in a hurried letter to Walsingham, "as, I hope in God, the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Sidonia will not shake hands these few days; and, whensoever they shall meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoice of this day's service. God bless her Majesty, our Gracious Sovereign, and give us all grace to live in His fear. I assure your Honour, this day's service hath much appalled the enemy."†

Sunday night's rough work was followed by rough work on Monday and for many days to come. The English fleet entered on speedy pursuit of the frightened Spaniards. Most of them had fled, but a great Neapolitan galeass, the *Capitana*, "the very glory and stay of the Spanish navy," having lost her rudder, and being otherwise much damaged, was still beating about in Calais harbour. Howard sent his long-boat and a small pinnace

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 32; vol. cxiv., No. 7; HARLETT, vol. i., p. 601; CAMDEN, vol. iii., p. 415.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 65.

belonging to the merchants of London, to seize her. "We had a pretty skirmish for half an hour," says one of the hundred Englishmen, armed slightly with muskets and swords, who bravely attacked the huge craft of 1,200 tons burthen, possessed of forty guns and with nearly seven hundred men on board: "they seemed safe in their ship, while we in our open pinnaces, and far under them, had nothing to shroud and cover us." The captain, Don Hugo de Moncada, smiled when called upon to surrender. The smile had hardly passed away when a bullet struck him in the forehead and he fell dead upon the deck. Thereupon his crew and soldiers, all but about twenty, threw themselves into the sea, to sink at once, or to sink when they were too tired to swim, and the English captors, scaling the high bulwarks with difficulty, had an hour and a half of welcome plunder. They took 50,000 ducats, more than 10,000*l.*, "a booty well fitting the English soldiers' affections." The great ship was claimed by the Governor of Calais; but the English were content, seeing that she was lost to Spain.*

In the meanwhile, on Monday, the 29th of July, there was yet more memorable fighting off Gravelines, fighting which decided the fate of the Armada. While Howard waited to watch the capture of the *Capitana*, the main force of the English sped on in pursuit of the main force of the Spaniards. A battle, which men who had served in both declared to be far more fierce and

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 67; *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 141; MOTLEY, vol. ii., pp. 493-498.

energetic than that of Lepanto, was fought between ten in the morning and four in the afternoon. At about nine o'clock the fleetest of the English ships, with Drake's *Revenge*, Frobisher's *Triumph*, and Hawkins's *Victory*, representatives of the revenge, the triumph, and the victory of all England, in the van, came within sight of the enemy, whom they found painfully struggling, against the fears of the men and a strong north-west wind and heavy tide, which threatened to strand them all on the Flemish shoals, to recover their customary arrangement in the shape of a half-moon. Without loss of time, and taking upon himself the responsibility of beginning the fight before the Lord Admiral's arrival, Drake, followed by Hawkins, Frobisher, Thomas Fenner, and many others, bore down upon the middle of the crescent, there to work terrible mischief among the Spanish flag-ships and to cause hopeless confusion through the whole fleet. Many ships were disabled by dashing against one another in their efforts to escape, where there was small chance of escape. Some pressed out to sea, to be further harassed by the angry waves. Some sought the protection of the shore, to run imminent peril of wreck upon the sands. And in either direction there was peril also from the English. Lord Henry Seymour in his light *Rainbow*, Sir Henry Palmer in his swift *Antelope*, and some others, took charge of the larboard wing and the coast line, first spoiling three great galleons and then attacking other ships that came in their way. Sir William Winter in the *Vanguard*, and a great

number of barks and merchant ships, kept out to sea and did most injury of all. "I tell you on the credit of a gentleman," he wrote to Walsingham, "that there were five hundred discharges of demi-cannon, culverin and demi-culverin from the *Vanguard*; and when I was farthest off in firing my pieces, I was not out of shot of their harquebus, and most time within speech one of another."*

Throughout six hours the English carried on their work of havoc. "And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet," it was said and must be remembered, "yet scarce there were two or three and twenty among them all which matched ninety of the Spanish ships in bigness, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore, using their prerogative of nimble steerage, whereby they could turn and wield themselves with the wind which way they listed, they came oftentimes very near upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore that now and then they were but a pike's length asunder; and so, continually giving them one broadside after another, they discharged all their shot, both great and small, upon them, spending a whole day in that violent kind of conflict."† Every ship in the Spanish fleet received its share of injury. A great Biscayan galley and a great galleon went down during the fight. Another great galleon, after desperate fighting, was captured

* *Spanish Narrative* in BARROW; RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiii., No. 71; vol. ccxiv., Nos. 2, 3, 7, 27.

† HARLUYT, vol. i., p. 601.

and taken into Flushing. A third great galleon, dismasted and riddled, was borne along by the wind and sea and wrecked near Ostend.* A score of others were made ready for shipwreck during the next few days. Drake estimated their deaths by gunshot and by drowning at five thousand.† No English ship was lost or seriously damaged, and certainly not more than a hundred men were killed and wounded. "God hath mightily preserved her Majesty's forces with the least losses that hath ever been heard of, being within the compass of so great volleys of shot, both small and great," wrote Fenner to Walsingham. "I verily believe there is not threescore men lost of her Majesty's forces."‡

"Their force is wonderful great and strong," wrote Lord Admiral Howard, who, hurrying up from Calais, joined in the battle when it was nearly over; "but we pluck their feathers by little and little."§ There had been very considerable plucking of the Armada's peacock feathers during those six hours of fighting. But, as it seems, nothing save Queen Elizabeth's and Lord Burghley's parsimony hindered the victory from being complete. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, it was reported, was so disheartened with the day's work that such further havoc as Howard, Drake, and all the brave sea-captains were eager to make would have forced him to capitulate or even to make unlimited submission.||

* *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 141.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiv., No. 65.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiv., No. 27.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiii., No. 64.

|| MONSON in CHURCHILL'S *Collection of Travels*, vol. iii., p. 159.

But the scant supplies of ammunition which, with daily entreaties, Howard had been able to procure from home, were nearly exhausted by four o'clock, and the English had to stay their hands for the present. Their firing abated, and the Spaniards taking advantage of this, gathered together their shattered forces and, favoured by a change of wind towards the south, sped northward in full sail. "Notwithstanding that our powder and shot was well near all spent," said Howard, "we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase."*

The chase lasted through Monday night and Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday and part of Friday. "We have the army of Spain before us," wrote Drake to Walsingham, on Wednesday, "and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a pull with him. There was never anything pleased me better than seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northwards. God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for, with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere long we shall so handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St. Mary's Port among his orange trees. God give us grace to depend upon Him, so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good."†

The rest of the victory, however, was not of Drake's or Howard's winning. On Tuesday afternoon the Lord Admiral, being off the coast of Holland, sent Seymour

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiv., No. 42.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiii., No. 73.

and Winter back to England with the Narrow Seas squadron, there to be prepared for any further attempt at invasion that might be made by the Prince of Parma, and many of the smaller adventurers' ships returned with them. The rest of the fleet followed the flying Spaniards, driven by a strong wind and their own fears, through nearly the whole length of the North Sea.

On the morning of Friday, the 2nd of August, when midway between the Frith of Forth and the Skager Rack, Howard was forced to abandon the pursuit. "As well to refresh our ships with victuals, whereof most stood in wonderful need, and as also in respect of our want of powder and shot," he said, "we made for the Frith and sent certain pinnaces to dog the fleet until they should be past the Isles of Scotland."* That move was 'fortunate. After a day's waiting in the Forth, the English fleet sailed southwards, and on Sunday was overtaken, as Howard averred, by "a more violent storm than was ever seen before at that time of the year."† By it the ships were dispersed and, though very little injured, prevented from appearing in warlike trim again until Friday, the 9th of August, by which time they had all or nearly all assembled in Margate Road. Howard then found himself in command of a hundred and nineteen ships, including Seymour's squadron, with 11,120 sailors and fighting men on board.‡ This force, in spite of Lord Burghley's

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiv., No. 42.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiv., No. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiv., No. 60.

proposal that, now that the great danger was over, the ships should be at once discharged,* he maintained for a little time, to be in readiness for any return of the Armada, or any separate attempt of the Prince of Parma's.

The very parsimony which caused Burghley to wish for the immediate discharging of the men caused their retention in service longer than was necessary, and throws some ugly shadows over the last page of the story of England's victory over the Great Armada. During the months of preparation for that victory, Sir John Hawkins, as Treasurer of the Navy, by the Queen's directions, had induced sailors and fighting men to do their work to a great extent on credit. When the time came for their discharge he had to make urgent demands for money with which to pay them. At the end of August, writing to Burghley for advances, he reported that a sum of 19,000*l.* was due for the time previous to the great fight off Gravelines, besides all the claims for the subsequent period. "Mr. Hawkins cannot make a better return," added Howard in a post-script; "God knows how the lieutenants and corporals will be paid."† Instead of being paid off, they were kept hanging on, with such scanty allowance of food, such miserable supplies of clothing, and such unhealthy housing, that they died by hundreds. The men who had saved England in its time of greatest peril were left to perish like vagabonds and outlaws. "'Tis a most

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiv., No. 54.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxv., No. 56.

pitiful sight," wrote Howard to Burghley on the 10th of August, "to see how the men here at Margate, having no place where they can be received, die in the streets. The best lodging I can get is barns and such outhouses, and the relief is small that I can provide for them here. It would grieve any man's heart to see men that have served so valiantly die so miserably."* While on shipboard, pursuing the Armada with "a brag countenance," they had been reduced by want of food and other necessities to such extremities as it is not possible to describe in decent English, and had suffered terribly in consequence.† Their sufferings continued, with only partial abatement, when they were again in port. "They sicken one day and die the next," said Howard in a letter to the Queen, on the 22nd of August.‡ Receiving no money from London for the assistance of these poor fellows, Howard was obliged to appropriate some that was on its way thither as a contribution to the Queen's Exchequer. "By the Lord of Heaven," he said, writing to Walsingham on the subject, on the 27th of August, "had it not been mere necessity I would not have touched one crown; but if I had not some to have bestowed upon some poor and miserable men I should have wished myself out of the world."§ On the following day Hawkins wrote in a similar strain to Burghley, who had just written down to reprove him for having asked for money when the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxiv., No. 66.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiv., Nos. 50, 53.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxv., No. 40.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxv., No. 59.

Exchequer was so empty.* Slowly and with difficulty, however, the sick were healed, and both sick and well were paid their due and put in readiness for other patriotic work.

In the meanwhile the Invincible Armada was being finally vanquished. The storm of the 4th of August that had harassed the English ships on their return to the Downs brought terrible misfortune on the Spanish ships in the North Sea. Some were wrecked on the shores of Norway; some on the shores of Scotland; some on the shores of Ireland. The story of all the grievous troubles and dismal adventures of the Spaniards who came out to conquer England would fill a volume. Early in October a shattered remnant of the famous fleet found its way back to Spain,—fifty-three ships out of the hundred and thirty-two that had at first composed it; ten thousand spiritless men out of the thirty thousand who had embarked.

Hardly even then could Philip II. believe that his Armada had been defeated. For many weeks Catholic Europe had been cheating itself with the belief that already England was being restored to the true faith and had been brought under subjection to the Cæsar of the sixteenth century by Spanish soldiers and by the agents of the Holy Inquisition. “They were not ashamed,” as Sir Francis Drake said in a very memorable letter, which sums up the whole story in one long sentence, “to publish in sundry languages great victories in words, which they pretended to have obtained against this

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxv., No. 63.

realm, when, shortly after, it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations how their Navy, which they termed Invincible, consisting of one hundred and forty sail of ships were, by thirty of her Majesty's own ships of war and a few of our merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together even from the Lizard to Calais, and from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England round about Scotland and Ireland; where, for the sympathy of their religion hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slain and taken, and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters, to be shipped into England; where, her Majesty disdaining to put them to death and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their countries to witness the worthy achievement of their Invincible Navy. With all their great terrible ostentation, they did not, in all their sailing round about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace or cockboat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cot on this land."*

* Stow, p. 750.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SEQUEL TO THE GREAT ARMADA FIGHT.

[1588—1603.]

“GREAT thanks,” Philip II. is reported to have said, when intelligence of the entire overthrow of his Invincible Armada was brought to him—“great thanks do I render to Almighty God, by whose generous hand I am gifted with such power that I could easily, if I chose, place another fleet upon the seas. Nor is it of very great importance that a running stream should be sometimes intercepted, so long as the fountain from which it flows remains inexhaustible.”* But Philip overrated his own power. The fountain from which, through thirty years, had flowed the poisonous stream of Spanish aggrandizement and tyranny was beginning to fail. Tokens of failure had appeared even before the time of the Great Armada Fight, and during every one of the next twelve years, until haughty Philip was forced to seek relief from the injuries brought upon him by the open warfare and the privateering enterprises of England by virtually giving up the contest, it was made more and more apparent. Throughout those twelve years Spain and her possessions were the sport and

* MOTLEY, vol. ii., p. 535.

the prey not only of hardy English seamen and single-hearted English patriots, but even of inexperienced adventurers highly born or highly placed, who set themselves herein to relieve the monotony of courtly avocations and to acquire wealth that should help them to shine with freshened splendour in the showy Court of Queen Elizabeth.

While the defeated Armada was being wrecked upon the shores of Scotland and Ireland, Englishmen were planning further retribution upon Spain for her insolent attempt to conquer England. Uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the Armada and the expedience of maintaining a strong force in the Narrow Seas to be on the watch for any invasion that might be attempted by the Prince of Parma, prevented Lord Admiral Howard from giving it any further chase. He also prudently discountenanced a project which seems to have been advanced by Queen Elizabeth herself or by some of her courtiers, more zealous than wise, for utilizing a part of the naval force then stationed off Dover in an expedition to the Azores, there to wait for the passing of a fleet of Spanish and Portuguese trading ships on their way back from the Indies. "Upon your letter," he wrote to Walsingham on the 27th of August, "I presently sent for Sir Francis Drake, and showed him the desire that her Majesty had for intercepting of the King's treasure from the Indies; and so we considered it, and neither of us find any ships here in the fleet anyways able to go such a voyage before they have been aground, which cannot be done in any place but

at Chatham, and it will be fourteen days before they can be grounded. Belike it is thought the islands be but hereby," he added, with a touch of scorn: "it is not thought how the year is spent. I thought it good, therefore, to send with all speed Sir Francis Drake, although he be not very well, to inform you rightly of all. He is a man of judgment and acquainted with it, and will tell you what must be done for such a journey."*

The result of Drake's visit to Court was the partial abandonment of the intended expedition to the Azores and the planning of a much more formidable expedition against Spain to be sent out next spring, with Drake himself for leader. The other project issued only in the lending of two ships to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, for such work as he could manage to do with it. This nobleman, born in 1558, had won fame for himself in earlier years as the best tilter in England, and in all courtly tournaments he appeared as the Queen's champion. Following the tide of seafaring zeal, he had in 1586 sent out two barks, Sir Walter Raleigh contributing a third, under Robert Withrington, for voyaging in the South Sea. Withrington reached Brazil and then, proving coward, returned to England, when all men grieved "to see my Lord's hopes thus deceived and his great expenses cast away."† In 1587 the Earl of Cumberland took a small part in the war in the Netherlands, and during the Armada Fight he

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxv., No. 59.

† HAKLUYT, vol. iii., pp. 769-778.

distinguished himself as captain of the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*. Anxious to do further service, he obtained from Queen Elizabeth in the following October permission to fit out at his own expense the *Golden Horn* and the *Scout*, and employ them in fighting against Philip.* He captured a Spanish vessel in the English Channel or near it, but, before he could reach Spain, a storm split the larger ship's mainmast and he had to abandon his intended work.† A contemporary project of Sir Walter Raleigh's for leading a few of the Queen's ships to the coast of Ireland and there adding to the troubles of the Armada and its shipwrecked crews, troubled enough in other ways, was also entered upon and abandoned without any noteworthy result.‡ The next great work was that undertaken by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris.

The work was first discussed in the middle of September, 1588;§ and on the 11th of October a commission was issued by the Queen to Drake and Norris, entrusting them with "the whole charge and direction of an enterprise to invade and destroy the powers and forces of all such persons as had in that past summer, with their hostile armadas, sought and attempted the invasion of the realm of England and the dominions of the same." They were also instructed, if possible, to place Don Antonio, the claimant of the crown of Portugal,

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxvii., No. 32; vol. ccxxxvii., No. 34.

† PUCHAS, vol. ii., p. 1142.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxv., No. 64; vol. ccxvi., Nos. 2, 24, 28; vol. ccxviii., No. 3.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxvi., Nos. 32, 33, 59.

which had been seized by Philip II., in the way of making good his claim.* Drake was to organize an efficient fleet, composed of Queen's ships and private ships, and to see that they were well officered, well manned, and well furnished: Norris was to make proper arrangements for the organizing of a little army to be conveyed and landed by Drake in any parts that might be fixed upon. This was in fact, with far greater force than Drake had had at his disposal in 1587, and with far less pomp than had been shown in the preparation of the Armada, to be a vigorous piece of retaliation upon Spain.

All through the autumn and winter the joint commanders were busy with their work, and prompt and hearty assistance was afforded to them by Queen and statesmen, courtiers and commoners, parsons and seamen.† Queen Elizabeth contributed ships worth 16,000*l.*; and the requisite funds for fitting them out were furnished by private adventurers, 2,000*l.* by Drake; 6,000*l.* by Drake's friends; 20,000*l.* by Norris and his friends; 15,000*l.* by the City of London and its leading merchants.‡ Each party was to look for payment of these outlays, and as much profit as could be acquired, from an equitable division of the rich prizes that were to be taken in Spain and in Spanish waters. Vague promises of recompense were made by Don Antonio, and much actual assistance was rendered by the people of the Netherlands.§ On the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxvii., No. 15.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxvii., Nos. 23, 25.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccvii., Nos. 56, 57; vol. ccxviii., No. 56; vol. ccxix., No. 45; vol. ccxxiii., No. 56.

§ CAMDEN, vol. iii., p. 428.

23rd of February, 1589, when the arrangements were nearly completed, a fresh commission was issued to Drake and Norris, with detailed instructions appointing them in the first place to attack the shipping of the King of Spain on his own coasts, and afterwards to seize some of the Azores and there lie in wait for the trading fleets coming from both the East and the West Indies.*

Drake and Norris were at Plymouth with their ships and men, ready for departure, early in March. But they were detained for nearly a month by bad weather, and during that time was consumed a great part of the scanty supply of provisions that was to last out during the voyage. The money which Lord Burghley should have sent down by the end of March for the purchase of a further store did not arrive until the 26th of April;† and in consequence there ensued many desertions, and much trouble to the whole company. “I did never write to your Lordship with so discontented a mind as I do now,” said Drake in a letter to Burghley on the 8th of April. “We have used our best means as long as we could to uphold the service, as far as our own abilities and the credit of our friends could any way be stretched to serve our turns; but, for that the numbers of our men are so many and our daily charge so great by reason of our stay, we are no further able to continue the same as we have done. If this action should now be dissolved by any particular wants, the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiii., Nos. 88, 89.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxiii., Nos. 101, 102.

dishonour must needs be great to her Majesty, the loss not a little to us and such as are adventurers, and the clamour of the numbers which must be discharged most intolerable.”* “What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out did lay upon us,” says one of the adventurers, “too many can witness, and what extremity the want of that month’s victuals, which we did eat during the month we lay at Plymouth, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of that knoweth what men do live by, had not God in the end given us a more prosperous wind and shorter passage unto Galicia than hath been often seen, where our own force and fortune revictualled us largely.”†

Drake and Norris did not wait for the provisions that Burghley and his agents were so tardy in procuring. Judging that they could not possibly have greater troubles than befell them while they were waiting at Plymouth, and leaving directions that the food should be sent after them, they set sail on Friday, the 18th of April.‡ Contrary winds, however, detained them at the entrance to the harbour for a day and a half longer, and, during that fresh waiting time, several of the volunteer-ships, containing three thousand men, turned deserters, and had made good their escape before their absence was discovered. What was the precise force of the fleet that actually proceeded to Spain is not clear.

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiii., No. 70.

† WINGFIELD, *A True Discourse of the Voyage to Spain and Portugal*, 1589, in HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 134–155, which is the authority for the ensuing details when no other is given.

‡ RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiii., No. 95.

It included six of the Queen's ships; the *Revenge*, with Drake and Norris on board; the *Nonpareil*; the *Dreadnought* under Thomas Fenner; the *Swiftsure*, the *Foresight*, under Sir William Winter; and the *Aid*, under William Fenner. These ships had an aggregate burthen of 2,350 tons, and contained 1,500 seamen. There were also said to be 11,000 soldiers, and a large number of sailors, on board private barks and pinnaces, variously estimated at eighty and a hundred and forty sail, though after all the desertions the number was probably much less than the smaller estimate. The entire company was reported to consist of 23,000 persons, from which number also must be made a large deduction for the deserters. Fifty or sixty vessels of all sorts and about 15,000 men of all ranks probably formed the ultimate strength of the expedition.*

All its early troubles being overpassed, it sailed out of Plymouth waters at eight o'clock on Sunday morning, the 20th of April, and, favoured at last by a brisk and steady north wind, sighted Cape Ortegal at four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. On Thursday it passed into the haven of Corunna, then, as now, commonly called the Groyne. Four great Spanish ships were burnt before dark, after the taking of sixty-eight brass pieces of cannon from one of them, and under cover of the night all the soldiers were landed about a mile from the town.

Upon that followed a fortnight's siege of Corunna,

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiii., No. 102; HAKLEYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 133; BARROW, *Life of Drake*, p. 338.

then one of the strongest cities in Spain. Sir John Norris put to good use all the fighting experience that he had acquired in France under Coligni, in Ireland under Walter, Earl of Essex, and in the Netherlands under William of Orange, and Drake was land-soldier enough to render him efficient service. On Friday, the 25th of April, three parties made a simultaneous attack upon different sides of the lower town, and it was soon captured with a loss of twenty Englishmen against five hundred Spaniards.* There all the men who could be spared from the ships took up their quarters, feasting upon the food that they found in it, and turning it and all the towns and villages round about into ruins. To the upper town of Corunna, very well fortified, they laid siege, but without any real success. The gates were once entered, but the assailants were driven back. A breach was made in the wall, but the mine laid by the English effected more than was intended: just as they were entering a tower fell and crushed nearly three hundred of them, leaving time to the Spaniards to construct fresh fortifications out of the fragments before another onset was attempted. A second breach was made; but the besieged, led by a brave woman named Maria Pita, precursor in very similar circumstances of the Maid of Saragoza, offered a resistance too fierce to be overcome.† After that the siege was abandoned.

It was followed by a battle in open field, consequent on the arrival of 15,000 fresh Spanish troops for the

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiv., No. 24.

† SOUTHEY, vol. iii., p. 212.

relief of the town. Intelligence was brought of their being encamped at Puente de Burgo, five miles from Corunna. "Whereupon, on Tuesday the 6th of May," wrote Drake and Norris in their report to the Queen's Council, "we marched towards them with 7,000 soldiers, leaving the rest for the guard and siege of the town. Encountering them, they continued fight the space of three-quarters of an hour; and then we forced them to retire to the foot of a bridge, whereon not above three could march in rank, and from whence, although they were there defended by some fortifications, and had the benefit and succour of certain houses and other places adjoining, they were followed with our shot and pikes, with such courage and fierceness as, after some few volleys on both sides, they entered the bridge, whence, with the push of the pike, they were forced to make retreat into their trenches to the further foot of the bridge, which also, being pursued, they forsook and betook themselves to flight, abandoning their weapons, bag and baggage, and lost about 1,000 in skirmish and pursuit."* "How many 2,000 men, for of so many consisted our vanguard, might kill in pursuit of four sundry parties, so many, you may imagine, fell before us that day," says one sharer in this cruel butchery; "and to make the number more great, our men, having given over the execution and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the vineyards and hedges, whom they despatched."† Of the English, it

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiv., No. 15.

† HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 142.

is said, only two common soldiers and one corporal were killed, and four officers were wounded.*

For their stay at Corunna Drake and Norris were greatly blamed by Queen Elizabeth. Writing to them on the 20th of May, she charged them with allowing "a haviour of vain-glory to obfuscate the eyes of their judgment," and bade them lose no further time in complying with her former instructions to them to spoil the King of Spain's navy, and then seize his Indian treasure-ships off the Azores.† Their excuse was that, having left Plymouth with hardly a week's store of provisions, it was absolutely necessary they should pillage the first port they could arrive at, and that this they had done with all possible prudence and despatch.

They left Corunna on the 8th of May, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Lisbon. Adverse winds and an angry sea, however, made the voyage a very long one. They were troubled also by much sickness, induced by over-eating and over-drinking at Corunna. On the 13th they fell in with the promised transports, bringing wholesomer food from Plymouth, with which came as a convoy the *Swiftsure*, which, by accident or plan, had failed to accompany them at starting. In the *Swiftsure* was an unwelcome volunteer, Robert, Earl of Essex. The young Earl—Sidney's successor, and with far less merit, in Queen Elizabeth's especial favour—had attempted to join the fleet in England. Not yet two-

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiv., No. 15.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxiv., No. 53.

and-twenty, being born in 1567, he had spent all his slight patrimony, and 23,000*l.* lent him by his royal mistress, in dalliance at Court. "Her Majesty's goodness hath been so great," he now said, "as I could not ask more of her. No way left but to repair myself by mine own adventure, which I had much rather undertake than to offend her Majesty with suits, as I have done heretofore."* But the generally penurious Queen was more ready to lend money to the young spendthrift than to do without his gay society. Hearing that he desired to go with Drake and Norris, she had written to them, bidding them, at the risk of her eternal displeasure, prevent his project, and, if they found him, send him back to Court without an hour's delay.† Their vigilance had kept him back at Plymouth; and now that he joined them off the coast of Spain, they wrote specially to excuse themselves to the Queen. "As soon as we met with the Earl of Essex," they said, "we did our endeavours for his Lordship's present return; but we doubted whether we might spare out of the fleet a ship of so good service as the *Swiftsure*," which would have been needed to take him home.‡ Therefore they helped him to become a seaman as well as a courtier.

Halting at Peniche, some forty miles from Lisbon, on the 16th of April, Drake landed Sir John Norris and the soldiers. With most of the ships he proceeded to the mouth of the Tagus. Without difficulty he seized

* DEVEREUX, *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, vol. i., p. 206.

† *Ibid.*, p. 200.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

the fort of Cascaes and sixty vessels, chiefly laden with corn, that lay in its harbour, and there he waited for Norris's army, which, after marching up to Lisbon, and attempting to besiege it during three days, had abandoned the undertaking as impracticable with so small a force. The details of its work,* being soldiers' and not seamen's work, need not here be given.

Nor is there much more to be chronicled concerning this expedition. Meeting at Cascaes on the 1st of June, Drake and Norris found that there was so much sickness among their men, and so much defection among their volunteer shipping, that it was impossible to make any useful effort at further spoliation of the Spanish coast. They returned to Galicia, and there divided their fleet. Norris, with most of the merchant vessels, went homewards as quickly as he could, though with much hindrance on the way. Drake, with the Queen's ships and some others, attempted to fulfil the instructions for proceeding to the Azores, there to lie in wait for prizes. But a violent storm proved to him that his worn-out crews were unfit for further service. He therefore set sail for England, and reached Plymouth about the 22nd of June, twelve days before Norris.

The undertaking had been to a great extent a failure. By it had been done much less injury to Spain than had been hoped for: very little booty had been taken; and there had been terrible loss of life. But Philip II. had been insulted in his own land: a Spanish army had been defeated in Galicia: Cascaes had been forced to

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxiv., Nos. 77-79.

surrender; and the English, after showing their contempt for the power of Spain, had returned home conquered by nothing but sickness and incapacity in their own ranks. If, compared with previous exploits of Drake's, the expedition of 1589 had been unfortunate, it had been a brilliant success in comparison with the failure of the Great Armada of 1588. Sir John Norris, writing from Plymouth on the 4th of July, to deprecate the Queen's condemnation of his proceedings, said truly that "had the enemy done as much against the English, they would have made bonfires in most parts of Christendom."* Queen Elizabeth, in her reply, instead of scolding, acknowledged herself "infinitely bound to Almighty God for the success it had pleased Him to give to their attempts in Spain and Portugal," and hardly less indebted to Drake and Norris for their hearty and valiant services.†

Drake had not been in England a fortnight, and his mariners had not yet been paid off, when Sir John Hawkins, on the 6th of July, submitted to Lord Burghley a scheme for staying his fleet, and sending it back in September, with reinforcements in ships and men, and ample supplies of food and ammunition, to capture Cadiz and sink all the Spanish galleys to be found in its harbour and the neighbourhood. "It is not honourable," he said, "for her Majesty to seem to be in any fear of the King of Spain."‡ That project was not heeded, and no important work was given to Drake

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxv., No. 5.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxv., No. 15.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxv., No. 14.

for four years and more. He even fell so far, after his good friend Walsingham's death, into disgrace with Queen Elizabeth, that King Philip was foolish enough to make overtures to him, in the spring of 1590, for the transference of his services to Spain.* We can understand with what scorn those overtures were rejected.

In the meanwhile England's war with Spain was carried on without abatement. On the 18th of June, 1589, a few days before Drake's arrival at Plymouth, the Earl of Cumberland, unsuccessful in his earlier privateering projects, had started from it on a new enterprise, "his spirit remaining higher than the winds, and more resolutely, by storms, compact and united in itself."† At his own cost he had fitted out the *Victory*, one of the largest of the Queen's ships, which she had lent to him for this purpose, two barks, the *Meg* and the *Margaret*, and a small pinnace. The *Margaret* was found unfit for the hard work in store for her, and soon sent home. With the other vessels, committing some piracies on French and Dutch traders on the way, the Earl proceeded to the Azores. There four other barks and pinnaces joined his force. He was a few days too late for the East Indian fleet; and, though just in time for the West Indian fleet, consisting of fifteen richly-laden vessels, his pursuit of it was futile. But there were other treasure-ships to come. Meeting two great hulks from Brazil, he captured one of them, with

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxxi., No. 94.

† PURCHAS, vol. ii., p. 1142.

a loss of eighty men, and this he sent home at once with the *Meg*. Soon afterwards he fell in with another galley, coming from San Juan de Ulloa, and made an easy capture of it, and its stores of silver, cochineal, sugar, and hides, valued in all at 100,000*l*. According to one of his party, however, "these summer services and ships of sugar proved not so sweet and pleasant as the winter was sharp and painful."* His great prize, with all its cargo, was wrecked off Cornwall, and he himself had difficulty in escaping from drowning and starvation on his way back to England, which he reached on the 20th of December. His other prizes yielded a hundred per cent. upon the outlay of the voyage, and with this he had to be content.†

In spite of their misfortunes the English found advantage enough, both in the value of their captures and in the patriotic satisfaction which they derived from the spoliation of Spanish and Catholic possessions, to continue their fierce warfare upon the seas. Half a dozen volumes would be needed for a full rehearsal of the work done by commissioned officers and by private adventurers, by Queen's ships, and pirate barks, and merchants' vessels, during these twelve busy years. King Philip's beard, according to Drake's favourite expression, having been singed and pulled, Englishmen of all ranks felt it their bounden duty to God, their country, and themselves, and certainly made it their great delight, to swarm around him, like an army

* MONSON, in CHURCHILL'S *Collection*, vol. iii., p. 181.

† *Ibid.*, p. 184.

of elves, and pluck it out, hair by hair, or in handfuls together, by the roots. The more he winced, the more he swore, the more he uttered vows of vengeance which he was unable to perform, the better they were pleased.

The most memorable of these exploits alone can here be recounted, and these but briefly. But some of the smallest enterprises, by reason of their wonderful daring and their wonderful success, are as memorable as the greatest. Of this sort was a fight between ten English merchant ships and twelve Spanish galleys that took place in the Straits of Gibraltar in 1590. These ten merchantmen had gone for trade to Venice, Constantinople, and other ports in the Mediterranean and the Levant, and in returning home had met for mutual protection near the coast of Barbary. Immediately after this meeting, on Easter Monday, the 23rd of April, they descried twelve great galleys, "bravely furnished and strongly provided with men and ammunition," lying in wait for any English ships that might pass Gibraltar. Let the story be told in the words of one of the party. "In the morning early," he says, "being the 24th of April, according to our usual customs we said service and made our prayers unto Almighty God, beseeching Him to save us from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we knew and had found to be our most mortal enemies upon the sea. And having finished our prayers, and set ourselves in readiness, we perceived them to come towards us, and that they were indeed the Spanish galleys that lay under

the conduct of Andrew Doria, who is Viceroy for the King of Spain in the Straits of Gibraltar, and a notable enemy to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat nearer to us, they waved us amain for the King of Spain, and we waved them amain for the Queen of England, at which time it pleased Almighty God greatly to encourage us all in such sort, as that the nearer they came the less we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those galleys to the number of two or three hundred men in each galley. And it was thus concluded among us, that the four first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker and smallest ships foremost, and so it was performed, every man being ready to take part of such success as it should please God to send. At the first encounter the galleys came upon us very fiercely, yet God so strengthened us, that, if they had been ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the *Solomon*, being a hot ship, and having sundry cast pieces in her, gave the first shot in such a sour sort as that it sheared away so many men as sat on the one side of a galley, and pierced her through in such manner as that she was ready to sink, which made them to assault us the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our ships, especially the *Margaret and John*, the *Minion*, and the *Ascension*, followed, and gave a hot charge upon them, and they at us, where began a hot and fierce battle with great valiancy the one against the other, and so continued for the space of six hours. About the beginning of this our fight there came two

Flemings to our fleet, who seeing the force of the galleys to be so great, the one of them presently yielded, struck his sails, and was taken by the galleys, whereas, if they would have offered themselves to have fought in our behalf and their own defence, they needed not to have been taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming, being also ready to perform the like piece of service, began to vail his sails, and intended to have yielded immediately. But the trumpeter in that ship plucked forth his falchion, and slipped to the pilot at the helm, and vowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English fleet, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him ; which the pilot, for fear of death, did, and so by that means they were defended from present death, and from the tyranny of those Spaniards, which doubtless they should have found at their hands. Thus we continued in fight six hours and somewhat more, wherein God gave us the upper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flee into harbour and shroud themselves from us, and with speed to seek for their own safety. This was the handiwork of God, who defended us from danger in such sort as that there was not one man of us slain. And, in all this fierce assault made upon us by the Spanish power, we sustained no hurt or damage at all more than this, that the shrouds and backstays of the *Solomon*, who gave the first and last shot, and galled the enemy shrewdly all the time of the battle, were clear stricken off. After the battle was ceased, which was on Easter Tuesday, we stayed

for want of wind before Gibraltar until the next morning, where we were becalmed, and therefore looked every hour when they would have sent forth some fresh supply against us, but they were far unable to do it, for all their galleys were so sore battered that they durst not come forth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance, which they so lately before had received."*

Nearly every year there were fights as valiant as that. English merchant ships generally held their own, in Spanish waters, against the once formidable galleys of Spain, and Spanish merchant ships and galleys alike were over and over again beaten, burnt, or captured, and always held in awe, by privateering fleets sent out from England. Even failures, as they were esteemed by Queen Elizabeth and the private adventurers who hoped in these ways to make profits larger than the most prosperous trade could yield, were great successes as far as injury to Spain was concerned.

So it was with an expedition conducted by Sir John Hawkins in this same year. A scheme proposed by him to Lord Burghley in July, 1589, has been referred to. That scheme was rejected, but soon afterwards Hawkins produced another, which caused some stir, though its nature has not been recorded. It was talked of in February, 1590; and apparently had for its object an attack upon Spain, quite as formidable as that attempted by Drake and Norris in the previous year.† It also,

* HAKLUTT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 167, 168.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. cxxx., Nos. 79, 80, 84, 99.

however, was abandoned. On the 1st of March, Hawkins wrote disconsolately to Burghley on the subject, saying that now he was out of hope that he should be allowed to perform "any royal thing."^{*} He was so disheartened that on the 16th of April he wrote again, begging, since her Majesty was not satisfied with him, that he might be relieved from "the importable care and toil" of his duties as Treasurer of the Navy. "No man living," he said, "hath so careful, so miserable, so unfortunate, and so dangerous a life."[†]

He was not permitted to retire, and in May a modification of his project was adopted. He was sent, with Sir Martin Frobisher for his Vice-Admiral, at the head of either twelve or fourteen ships, with about fourteen hundred men on board, to do as much mischief as he could on the coast of Spain, and to try and intercept the fleet of Portuguese carracks coming from India.[‡] For five months Hawkins and Frobisher applied themselves heartily to their work, but without much profit. They kept Spain in such awe that, we are told, every valuable that could be removed was taken from Corunna, Lisbon, Cadiz, and other ports to inland towns, and all the Spanish galleys were lodged in the safest corners that were open to them.[§] But they had no orders, and were not in sufficient force, to attack Spain itself, and therefore there was nothing there for them to do. The trading fleets also had been warned

* RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxxi., No. 2.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxxi., No. 83.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxxii., Nos. 13-15, 18; vol. ccxxxiv., No. 9.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxxii., No. 17.

of their presence, and, by Philip II.'s directions, were kept back.* So, after cruising about for five months, the adventurers had to return at the end of October, empty handed or with so few prizes that they did not pay for the fitting out of the expedition.† Very great, we are told, was Queen Elizabeth's indignation at the result. Hawkins tendered an elaborate apology. "Paul might plant, and Apollos might water," he said in its conclusion, "but it was God only who gave the increase." The quotation was not soothing to the Queen. "God's death!" she exclaimed, "this fool went out a soldier and is come home a divine!"‡

Unprofitable, also, was a third privateering enterprise in which the Earl of Cumberland embarked in the spring of 1591. With one of the Queen's ships and four smaller vessels, he took many prizes, from hostile Spaniards and friendly Dutch alike, during a few months' cruise off the coast of Spain; but he was unable to hold the best of them. His chief adviser, the famous Sir William Monson of Stuart times, was taken prisoner, and after that, says Monson, "the Earl durst not abide the coast of Spain, and thought it more discretion to return to England, having taken nothing whatever toward defraying the charges of his outfit."§

Contemporary with that expedition of the Earl of Cumberland's to the neighbourhood of Spain, was one, yet more famous, led by Lord Thomas Howard and

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 183.

† RECORD OFFICE MSS., *Domestic*, vol. ccxxxiii., No. 118.

‡ SOUTHEY, vol. iii., p. 223.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 9-17.

Sir Richard Grenville against the Spanish ships coming from the West Indies. Lord Thomas Howard, born in 1561, and the eldest son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, had only been released in 1585 from the attainder consequent on his father's conspiracy in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. Immediately after that he began to take a prominent share in public movements. In 1588 he had distinguished himself under his cousin, the Lord Admiral, in the Armada Fight; and in 1591 he determined to win further renown in an independent exploit. With him was associated Sir Richard Grenville, whom we have already seen in his connection with Raleigh's Virginian colony, and who had for many years worked heartily, and very much to his advantage, in the trade of piracy and privateering against Spain. Their especial object was to try and seize the West Indian fleet which had escaped the search of Hawkins and Frobisher in 1590 by lying in concealment at Havannah, where it waited all through the winter, "choosing rather to hazard the perishing of ships, men, and goods, than that they should become the prize of the English."

Seven of the Queen's ships, the *Defiance*, the *Revenge*, the *Nonpareil*, the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, the *Lion*, the *Foresight*, and the *Chase*, six victualling ships, and the *Bark Raleigh*, which was Sir Walter Raleigh's contribution to the enterprise, with two or three pinnaces, made up the fleet.* It left Plymouth soon after the 10th of March, proceeded to the Azores, and there waited for

* RALEIGH in HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 170.

about five months, making a few small captures, but watching in vain for the expected West Indian treasure-ships. Philip, on hearing of Lord Thomas Howard's designs, had ordered the further detention of these ships at Havannah, and had also ordered the preparation of a formidable fleet to go out and to conduct them home, and, if possible, to defeat the English at the same time.

This was the greatest fleet sent out of Spain since the defeat of the Armada. It comprised over fifty sail;—thirty great Portuguese, Biscayan, and Andalusian galleys, ten Dutch fly-boats that had been seized near Lisbon, and a dozen or more of miscellaneous craft.* Howard was informed of its setting out, on the 30th of August, by a message from the Earl of Cumberland. His own ships, said Sir Walter Raleigh, were "all pestered and rummaging, everything out of order, very light for want of ballast, and, what was most to their disadvantage, half the men of every ship sick and utterly unserviceable." He had hardly had a day in which to try and put things in order, however, when, on the 31st of August, the Spanish fleet, coming towards him at once, either by accident or by a change in plan, appeared in sight. Taken by surprise, he put out to sea, designing thus to get more time in which to prepare for battle. But Grenville, in the *Revenge*, was unable to do this before the Spaniards came within gun-shot, and in consequence a battle was fought at once.†

* RALEIGH in HAKLUYT, p. 173; LINSCHOTEN in the same, p. 185.

† RALEIGH in HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 170.

It was a battle eminently characteristic of the daring seamanship of England under the Tudors. Sir Richard Grenville, finding himself, in a single vessel, face to face with fifty Spanish ships, nearly all of them twice or thrice the size of the *Revenge*, might easily have retreated, getting out of reach of the enemy's guns before they had done much harm. "But," says Sir Walter Raleigh in a vivid description of the fight, "Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die than to dishonour himself, his country, and her Majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons and enforce the Spaniards to give him way." Applying himself to that bold plan, he pressed into the crowd of Spanish galleys. The first four or five that gathered round him he bravely defied; but he was soon overwhelmed. "The great *San Felipe*," says Raleigh, "being in the wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort as the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm, so huge and high-charged was the Spanish ship, being of 1500 tons," just thrice as large as the *Revenge*. The *San Felipe* and the other great Spanish ships easily closed upon the *Revenge*; but they did not find it easy to board her.

From three o'clock in the afternoon till daybreak next morning, Grenville and his few followers fought as even Englishmen had rarely fought before. Troops after troops of Spaniards, attempting from their high bulwarks to make what seemed an easy descent upon the deck of the *Revenge*, were driven back. Galley after

galley, riddled through and through by English cannon-balls, was forced to retire; some to founder, all the rest to need much tinkering before they were fit for further service. "The Spanish ships," says Raleigh, "were filled with companies of soldiers; in some two hundred, besides the mariners, in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, save the servants of the commanders, and some few voluntary gentlemen. But they were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the seas. As they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their place, the *Revenge* having never less than two mighty galleys by her side. Ere the morning, from three o'clock of the day before, there had fifteen several armadas assailed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment as they were, by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition than hastily to make any more assaults. But as the day increased, so our men decreased, and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, save one small ship called the *Pilgrim*, who hovered all night to see the success; but in the morning, bearing with the *Revenge*, she was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped."

The heroes of the *Revenge* were too proud to escape, as even now they might have done. They fought on to the last. "All the powder, to the last barrel," says Raleigh, "was now spent, all the pikes broken, forty of

the best men slain, and most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast. A small troop to man such a ship! a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army! By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings, and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. The Spaniards were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron, all manner of arms, and powder at will: unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper-work altogether rased, and she, in effect, evened with the water, nothing being left but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea."

Then, after fifteen hours' fight, and the spending of eight hundred charges of great artillery and rounds of small shot without number, Grenville resolved, not to surrender to the Spaniards, but to cease fighting with them. "He persuaded the company," says Raleigh, "or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but, as they had, like valiant and resolute men, repulsed many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation by prolonging their own lives for a few hours, or a few days. The master gunner readily consented, and divers others; but the captain and the

master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them, alleging that the Spaniards would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same, and that, there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And, whereas Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her Majesty's, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves, they answered that the ship had six foot of water in hold, and three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped as, with the first working of the sea, she must needs sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place. As the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons, the master of the *Revenge*, while the captain won unto him the greater party, was conveyed aboard the General Don Alonzo Bazan"—who was a brother of the Marquis of Santa Cruz—"who, finding none overhasty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting whether Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the report of the master of the *Revenge* his dangerous disposition, yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sail for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season, to be free from galley or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended, as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief

to themselves, as well as for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grenville, whom for his notable valour he seemed greatly to honour and admire. When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master gunner, being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The master gunner, finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his cabin. Then the General sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men, fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the general and other ships. Sir Richard, thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Bazan to remove out of the *Revenge*, the ship being marvellous unsavoury, filled with blood and bodies of dead and wounded men, like a slaughter-house. Sir Richard answered that they might do with his body what they list, for he esteemed it not, and, as he was carried out of the ship, he swooned, and, reviving again, desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery,"— he had been grievously wounded about twelve o'clock the night before,—“highly commending his valour and worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was; being unto him a rare spectacle and a resolution seldom approved, to see one ship turn toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so

many huge armadas, and to resist and repel the assaults and entries of so many soldiers."*

A rare spectacle indeed! "I account," said Sir Richard Hawkins, the only other Elizabethan Englishman who yielded to the Spaniards, and who did so almost as gloriously as Grenville, "that he and his country got much honour in that occasion; for one ship, and of the second sort of her Majesty's, sustained the force of all the fleet of Spain, and gave them to understand that they be impregnable; for, having bought dearly the boarding of her, divers and sundry times, and with many jointly, and with a continual fight of fourteen or sixteen hours, at length leaving her without any mast standing, like a log in the seas, she made notwithstanding a most honourable composition of life and liberty for above two hundred and sixty men, as by the pay book appeareth;† all which may worthily be written in our chronicles in letters of gold, in memory for all posterities, some to beware, and others, by their example in like occasions, to imitate, the true valour of our nation in these ages."‡

Sir Richard Grenville died of his wound two or three days after his surrendering. "Here die I," he is reported to have said to the Spanish hidalgos, who, forgetting every animosity in their honour of his

* HAKLUIT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 171, 172.

† This is nearly double the number given by Raleigh. Hawkins adds, that "Her Majesty, of her free grace, commanded, in recompense of her service, to be given to every one his six months' wages."

‡ *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in his Voyage into the South Sea* (Hakluyt Society, 1847), pp. 20, 21.

excellent bravery, vied with one another in striving to comfort him in his hours of pain, and who treasured up his dying words with reverent admiration,—“ Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and a quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a good soldier ought to do, who has fought for his country and his Queen, for honour and religion. Wherefore my soul joyfully departeth out of this body, leaving behind it an everlasting fame, as a true soldier who hath done his duty as he was bound to do. But the others of my company have done as traitors and dogs, for which they shall be reproached all their lives, and have a shameful name for ever.”*

That bitter condemnation was not quite undeserved. Had even two or three of his consorts who watched Grenville's desperate fight from a safe distance, shared his valour, though in humbler sort, they might have worsted the whole Spanish fleet. Lord Thomas Howard, it is said, desired to attempt this, or at any rate to rescue the *Revenge* from the fiftyfold force in number of ships, more than a hundredfold in number of men and guns, with which she was mated. But his crews refused: his own master gunner vowed to throw himself into the sea rather than do work which must certainly end in the ruin of the Queen's ships and his own punishment as a galley-slave under the Spaniards. Therefore, after two hours of desultory fighting on the outskirts of Grenville's battle scene, the main body of the English fleet disgracefully retired. Captain Thomas

* LINSCHOTEN, cited by SOUTHEY, vol. iii., p. 337.

Vavator, in the little *Foresight*, fought on and worked his way very near to the *Revenge*; but his bark was disabled before night time, and he barely managed to save himself from capture by the Spaniards. Yet bolder was the bearing of the little *Pilgrim*, as we have seen, and of a small merchant vessel, the *George Noble*, which pressed right up to the *Revenge*, and only retired when Sir Richard Grenville, thanking her captain for his bravery, told him that the vessel was too small and, with nothing but small guns, too poorly armed to be of service in such a contest, and begged him to save himself while he could.*

Lord Thomas Howard's fleet did nothing else of note. Lying in wait for the passing of the West Indian treasure-ships, which came up a few days afterwards, it allowed them to get under protection of the Spanish fleet, and then, capturing one or two of their outlying numbers, but not daring to engage in a general battle, it returned to England. The East and West Indian treasure, which Philip had been so anxious to keep out of English hands, however, was not saved thereby. The ships and their convoys, galleys and galleons, merchant vessels and sloops, when all had been collected at the Azores, numbered a hundred and forty sail. They had just started for the Tagus, when a hurricane drove them back among the rocks; and caused such fearful havoc that, out of the hundred and forty vessels only forty escaped wreck. The *Revenge*, which had been patched up for a trophy, with two hundred

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 171, 173.

Spaniards on board, went down. It was reckoned that ten thousand men, in all, were lost, and the loss in treasure, of more value to Philip than men, could not be reckoned up.*

It is hardly to be wondered at that the English, seeing how strangely wind and water sided with them in their warfare with the Spaniards, should have fancied that they were the especial favourites of the Almighty, and that Jehovah was fighting as stoutly for them as in former times He had fought for the chosen race of Israel. And, seeing how much cruelty was supposed, in Jewish times and circumstances, to be of Divine appointment, it is not strange that Christian Englishmen should also hold themselves both authorized and bound to do many cruel and unworthy things in the name of God. The marvel is rather that, with so many precedents and opportunities for wrong-doing, so little of it was done. The English fought with Spain in order that they might have their share of the wealth of the Indies, arrogantly and covetously claimed by Spain as its peculiar property; but they fought much more against the tyrannical and bigoted principles which were the foundation and the superstructure of Spain's dominion, and they generally demeaned themselves as became the champions of a good and honest cause.

The man who in the later years of Elizabeth's reign held these views most persistently, and held them worthily in spite of some personal characteristics which were not altogether worthy, was Sir Walter Raleigh.

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 187.

Not himself much of a seaman, we have seen how much he did to foster seamanship by his experiment of the first English colony in America. Virginia failed through the vices of subordinates which he is to be blamed for not using more effort than he did use to correct. When Virginia was abandoned, he applied himself yet more earnestly to work which was quite as helpful to the progress of English seamanship and to the general well-being of England. He had no objection to the winning of Spanish treasure for its own sake; but he saw with regret that the energies of his countrymen were, in these later years, becoming too exclusively devoted to this object. He therefore, both in writing and in his speeches in Parliament, earnestly advocated the continuance of public war with Spain, having for its primary object the crippling of her forces instead of the seizing of her precious goods. Zeal in that object had taken him as a volunteer in the great expedition of 1589 under Norris and Drake. Zeal in that object caused him in Parliament to urge, with all the eloquence that he possessed, and urge successfully, the carrying of war into the enemy's new place of lodgment in Brittany, a lodgment which, Raleigh represented, made the attitude of Spain, in spite of all her naval reverses, more formidable than it had been even in 1588.

While that project was being slowly adopted, Raleigh applied himself to another bold enterprise against Spain. Procuring two ships from the Queen, and fitting out thirteen others, he planned an expedition to the Spanish Main, and especially to the Isthmus of

Darien, where there was good hope of securing the annual store of treasure coming home, through Panama and Nombre de Dios, from Chili and Peru.* With this fleet he put to sea on the 6th of May, 1592. On the following day he was overtaken by Sir Martin Frobisher coming in a swift pinnace with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, bidding him return at once to be punished for making love to her pretty maid-of-honour, Elizabeth Throgmorton. It is not clear that this recall had not been previously arranged with Raleigh, and it is even possible that he never intended to go with the fleet himself, seeing that there was talk of his being brought home and replaced by Frobisher two months before he started.† At any rate, he did return, after conducting the fleet only so far as Cape Finisterre.

There, on the 11th of May, he divided his ships into two squadrons, entrusting one to Frobisher, the other to Sir John Burroughs. Frobisher he directed to cruise about the coast of Spain, "thereby to amaze the Spanish fleet;" Burroughs was to go to the Azores, and thence to the West Indies, unless he met the Panama fleet on the way.‡

The squadrons had not fairly separated before a great Biscayan ship, with a valuable cargo, came in sight, to be easily captured and sent home. This was

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 194; MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., p. 156.

† I shall not attempt to explain his famous letter to Sir Robert Cecil, for which every one of his biographers has a separate explanation.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 195.

all the good fortune that fell to Frobisher. His small force, though it may have amazed the Spaniards, was not strong enough to frighten them, and, after sailing up and down for a little time, he found it expedient to go home. Sir John Burroughs was more successful. Sailing towards the Azores, he heard that Philip II. had, upon intelligence of Raleigh's project, ordered that no treasure should be sent home that year from Panama; but at the same time he heard that a fleet of East Indian carracks was on its way to Lisbon. On that account he partly altered his course, and in doing so he fell in with five other English ships, which proved to be a little fleet fitted out by the Earl of Cumberland on a fourth privateering expedition.*

Cumberland, like Raleigh, had conducted his ships into Spanish waters and then returned to England. Captain Norton, who was left in charge of them, being at the Azores, had also heard of the approach of the East Indian carracks. Meeting Burroughs, he placed his ships under his command, and the combined fleets, numbering ten or eleven vessels in all, lay in wait for the East Indiamen. They soon fell in with one, the *Santa Cruz*, and gave her chase till she ran against a rocky island among the Azores. Then, having saved as much of her cargo as they could, they watched for other carracks, spreading out in a line which extended over nearly a hundred miles from north to south. After four days of watching, a huge carrack, called the *Madre de Dios*, of about 1,600 tons burthen, came in sight.

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 195; PUCHAS, vol. ii., p. 1145.

Thereupon they soon closed round her. The only Queen's ship, the *Foresight*, pressing up to her side, was caught by her grappling-irons, and borne along, like a ship's boat, for a little distance, while she attempted, in full sail, to outstrip her other small pursuers. But they soon pressed up, and about midnight the *Tiger*, a merchantman of 600 tons, twice as large as any of the others, began to board her on one side, while the *Foresight* and another belaboured her on the other. A tough struggle ensued, "the fore-castle being so high that, without any resistance, the getting up had been difficult; but here was strong resistance, some irrecoverably falling by the board, and the assault continued an hour and a half, so brave a booty making the men fight like dragons." The dragons won, although their work was nearly spoilt by a fire which broke out through the upsetting of some candles in the turmoil. Captain Norton put out the fire, and, before morning, so many as survived of the seven hundred sailors, soldiers, and officers of the huge *Madre de Dios* had been made prisoners, and the captors were able leisurely to inspect their prize, by far the largest that had ever fallen into English hands.*

"The true proportion of the vast body of this car-rack," says the narrator of the exploit, "did then, and still may, justly provoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. But albeit this first appearance of the hugeness thereof yielded sights enough to entertain our men's eyes, yet the pitiful

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 197.

object of so many bodies slain and dismembered could not but draw each man's eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to help, those miserable people, whose limbs were torn with the violence of shot. No man could almost step but upon a dead carcase or a bloody floor; for, the greatness of the steerage requiring the labour of twelve or fourteen men at once, and some of our ships beating her in at the stern with their ordnance, oftentimes with one shot slew four or five labouring on either side of the helm, whose room being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing upon them with continual volleys, it could not but be that much blood was shed in that place."*

With commendable humanity Sir John Burroughs caused the wounded Spaniards and Portuguese to be tended by his surgeons, and then, placing both whole and lamed in one of his smaller craft, he sent them back, with a fair allowance of their own provisions, to their native country. On the way, however, they fell among other English privateers, who despoiled them of "nine hundred diamonds, besides other odds and ends," which they had concealed about their persons. Burroughs also hurried home, anxious to have his rich prize safe in English waters. When its riches were distributed, soon after his arrival at Dartmouth, near the end of August, they were found to consist of spices, drugs and dyes, silks, calicoes and damasks, pearls, jewels, and the like, worth in all 150,000*l.*, "which," it is said, "being divided among the adventurers, whereof

* HAKLUTT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 198.

her Majesty was the chief, was sufficient to yield contentment to all parties."* The Earl of Cumberland, who seems not to have been content, received as his share 36,000*l.*† Raleigh had certainly not less.

This capture of the *Madre de Dios* added greatly to the privateering enterprise that had already been entered upon so zealously as to need no further stimulus. From Plymouth, from Exeter, from Bristol, and from a dozen other trading towns expeditions were every year sent out which, being sometimes disastrous, were at other times successful enough to pay for the failures and yet leave large profits. And gentlemen and noblemen were as eager as the traders by profession. The Earl of Cumberland, lordliest of pirates and privateers, equipped nine ships, two of them borrowed from the Queen's navy, in 1593, and with them captured, besides some French vessels, twelve great Spanish hulks off Portugal, and several other Spanish ships in the West Indies, all of which brought him in more wealth than could be told.‡ In 1594, with five ships, he attacked the *Cinco Chagos*, a carrack much larger than the *Madre de Dios*, almost the largest ever sent from Portugal to the East Indies; which, however, caught fire, at the moment of capture, and, with all its treasure and its crew of eleven hundred men, was lost. In attacking another carrack he was defeated, so that he had to return to England, "having done much

* HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., p. 198. † PURCHAS, vol. ii., p. 1145.

‡ HAKLUYT, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 199-201; MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., pp. 157, 158.

harm to the enemy and little good to himself."* Yet in 1595, out of his spoils, and with a view to winning yet more, he built "the best ship that had ever before been built by any subject," which he called the *Scourge of Malice*; and of this he made much subsequent use.† But we have worthier work to chronicle.

Among the worthiest fighting work done during these years, although we have not much to do with it, it being chiefly carried on by soldiers on dry land, was the war against Spain in Brittany, of which Sir Walter Raleigh was almost the chief advocate. Its first promoter, as it seems, was Sir Francis Drake, who, in November, 1590, wrote to Henry of Navarre, asking whether he would approve of English efforts to oust the forces of Philip II. from the lodgment, which, taking advantage of the troubles in France incident on the War of the League, they had begun to make in Brittany.‡ Henry promptly wrote back to welcome the offer of assistance from "a man so celebrated by fame and noble deeds," as he said. "I have sent a letter to the Queen, your mistress, earnestly entreating for auxiliary forces," he added; "and I eagerly entreat you, most excellent Sir, that you will strengthen my petition before the Queen, as much as possible, by your authority and favour."§ English reinforcements were sent, though in a niggardly way, and apparently without much help from Drake's

* SOUTHEY, vol. iii., pp. 27-33.

† MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., p. 189.

‡ RYMER, *Fœdera*, cited in BARROW, *Life of Drake*, p. 331.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

“authority and favour,” which, just then, were small at Court.

That help consisted only of land-soldiers, till the autumn of 1594, when, the arguments of Raleigh and others having prevailed so far, Sir Martin Frobisher was sent with a small force of ten vessels, four being Queen's ships and the other 'six volunteers, to prevent Brest from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. The neighbouring port of Crodon was already in Spanish hands. Sir John Norris, then at the head of the little English army, was ordered to invest it by land; Frobisher to attack it from the sea. The siege, begun on the 1st of September, was hotly continued until the garrison, being forced to surrender, was all put to the sword, and the fort reduced to ashes. But in the last fight Frobisher was wounded in the hip, and he died a few days after he had been conveyed to Plymouth; his death, it is said, being more due to the bad handling of the surgeon than to the wound itself.*

That was the first and last of Queen Elizabeth's naval fighting with Spain on the coast of France. She thought it better to send her seamen to harass Philip in Spanish waters, and best of all to encourage them to take the war into their own hands, themselves defraying the expenses of their privateering enterprises, while, if they were successful, a part of the profits was assigned to her on account of the empty ships which they were allowed to borrow from her navy.

* MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., p. 158; CAMDEN, vol. iii., pp. 486, 487.

Most of these privateering expeditions, as we have seen, had for their objects the wasting of Philip's and his subjects' shipping off the coast of Spain, near the Azores, and in the neighbourhood of the West Indies. But more distant enterprises were not wanting. The luckless undertaking of Thomas Cavendish in 1591, designed to surpass his former voyage round the world, has already been described. A similar undertaking, also unfortunate, was entered upon in 1593, by Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir John Hawkins's only son. Now about forty years old, he had been well trained by his father in seamanship, and, as his record of his voyage shows, in many other sorts of knowledge.* He had served in the Great Armada Fight, and had been, as he says, a sailor during twenty years. But all we know of him in detail has to do with the voyage which he projected for sailing, as Drake and Cavendish had done before him, through the Straits of Magellan, and round the Pacific Ocean to China and the East Indies.

He left Plymouth on the 12th of June, in the *Dainty*, a new ship built for the work, of between 300 and 400 tons burthen, attended by a bark of 100 tons, and a pinnace of 60 tons. "I luffed near the shore," he says, "to give my farewell to all the inhabitants of the town, whereof the most part were gathered together upon the

* *The Observations of SIR RICHARD HAWKINS in his Voyage into the South Sea in 1593* (Hakluyt Society, 1847)—a work full of shrewd and useful observations on many points having nothing to do with this voyage. A first part was published shortly before his death in 1622. He never issued the second part.

Hoe, to show their grateful correspondency to the love and zeal which I, my father and predecessors, have ever borne to that place as to our natural and mother town. And first with my noise of trumpets, after with my waits and then with my other music, I made the best signification I could of a kind farewell. This they answered with the waits of the town, and the ordnance on the shore, and with shouting of voices, which with fair evening and silence of the night, were heard a great distance off."

Contrary winds made the voyage to Brazil a long one. In the course of it some of Hawkins's men died of scurvy, and nearly all the rest fell sick. Other troubles befel him as he traversed the coast to the south. Near Rio de la Plata, not having men enough to work all his three vessels, he burnt the bark, and a few days afterwards the pinnace deserted him in a storm. The Strait of Magellan was not reached till the 19th of February, 1594. Hawkins passed out of it, and entered the South Sea on the 29th of March. Thence he sailed slowly along the western side of South America. At Valparaiso he captured five small Spanish vessels, the crews of which he treated with rare moderation—moderation for which even the Spaniards blamed him. Had he, they said, like Drake and Cavendish, burnt all the ships he seized, intelligence of his coming would not have been conveyed to other ports. As it was, he deserved to suffer as a coward.

Suffering soon came to him, if it had not come long before, though not from cowardice. Near Lima,

three strong ships came out to meet him. From them he escaped; but at the mouth of Guayaquil Bay, or a smaller bay near it, on the 23rd of June, two other ships and a bark approached him. Hawkins saw at once that they had hostile intentions, and were too strong to court a battle with. His sailors, declaring that they were Panama treasure-ships, were eager to fight. "They altogether," he says, "without reason, or against reason, broke out, some into vaunting and bragging, some into reproaches for want of courage, others into wishings that they had never come out of their country, if they should refuse to fight with any two ships whatever. The gunner, for his part, assured me that with the first tire of shot he would lay one of them in the suds, and our pinnace"—a small Spanish prize had been turned into an indifferent pinnace a month or two before—"that she would take the other to task. One promised that he would cut down their mainyard, another that he would take their flag. To some I turned the deaf ear. With others I dissembled, soothing and animating them to the execution of what they promised."

In the end, having the weather-gauge of the enemy, Hawkins resolved to meet them, and he passed out of the bay in order that he "might have sea room to fight." The *Dainty* and the pinnace had in all seventy-five men. The force in the three Spanish vessels was thirteen hundred. As the ships approached one another, moreover, the wind changed and forced the English to leeward. "The admiral," says Hawkins, "weathering us, came down upon us; which, being within musket-

shot, we hailed first with our noise of trumpets, then with our waits, and after with our artillery ; two for one, for they had double the ordnance we had. Immediately they came shoring aboard of us, upon our lee-quarter, contrary to our expectations, and the custom of men-of-war ; and doubtless, had our gunner been the man he was reputed to be, and as the world told him to me, they had received great hurt by that manner of boarding ; but, contrary to all expectation, our stern-pieces were unpinned, and so were all those which we had to leeward." The master gunner proved, in Hawkins's opinion, the most boastful and useless man in the world. His guns were out of gear, and much of his ammunition was spoiled by sea-water, through the carelessness of his stowage. He was even supposed to be in treacherous league with the Spaniards. "Whether this were true or no," says Hawkins, "I know not ; but I am sure all in general gave him an ill report, and that he in whose hands the chief execution of the whole fight consisted executed nothing as was promised and expected." Thereby the ruin of the English was nearly insured from the first.

Yet they fought bravely through two days and two nights. During the first day, which was Sunday, the enemy was twice driven off ; and on the first evening, upon a third attempt being made by the Spaniards to board the *Dainty*, one of the assailants was so disabled that, if he could only have spared a dozen men from the defence against the others, Hawkins says he might easily have taken her. After that the Spaniards dared

make no further attack in close quarters. They invited Hawkins—who already had received six wounds, “one in the neck, very perillous; another through the arm, perishing the bone and cutting the sinews close by the arm-pit”—to surrender according to the usages of good war. A few of the English wished to accept this offer. But Hawkins indignantly resented it, and in terms so eloquent, that he convinced even the most wavering. “All who were present,” he says, “vowed either to remain freemen or to sell their lives at a price which the enemy would not be willing to pay. Both captain and company took their leave of me, every one particularly, and the greater part with tears and embracings, as though we were forthwith to depart this world, and never see one the other again but in heaven, promising never more to speak of surrendry.”

Failing in that, the Spaniards determined to ply their artillery from a distance, trusting to sink the *Dainty* or to exhaust her ammunition. This they did through Sunday night, firing on till an hour before daybreak, when they held off for a few hours, “to breathe, and remedy such defects as were amiss.” The interval the English spent “in repairing their sails and tacklings, stopping their leaks, fishing and woolding their masts and yards, mending their pumps, and fitting and providing themselves for the day to come.” But for that work the *Dainty* could not have kept above water many more hours.

Early in Monday’s fight one of Hawkins’s guns carried

away the mainmast of the smaller Spanish ship, and called off the attention of all his assailants. Had he not been "in a manner senseless with his wounds," he might have tried to escape, or at any rate might have got the weather-gauge of the enemy. "But this occasion was let slip," as he says, and no other occasion came to him. The fighting was resumed and continued through all that day and all the ensuing night, until, as on the previous morning, both sides found it necessary to make a few hours' pause. Then they set to work again.

But the English could not work on much longer. By Tuesday afternoon nearly half their men were killed. The other half were all more or less wounded. Their ship too was a wreck. "The *Dainty*," says Hawkins, "had fourteen shot under water, seven or eight foot of water in the hold, the sails all torn, the masts all perished, and the pumps shot to pieces." Hawkins, unless he resorted to the desperate expedient planned by Sir Richard Grenville in like case, had to choose between a conditional surrender or capture without conditions. Believing that he himself had not many hours more to live, he chose the former for the sake of his comrades. Hoisting a flag of truce, he offered to surrender if "life, liberty, and embarkation to England" were accorded to all his comrades. The terms were accepted, the Spanish commander sending his glove as a pledge that they should be honourably observed. The commander was not at fault; but Spanish honour, as interpreted by his superiors, showed itself in eight-and-twenty years

of hardship and imprisonment to Hawkins, who did not reach England till 1622. Of the fate of his comrades we are not informed.

Long before Sir Richard Hawkins returned to England his father had left it, never to return. After the failure of his prize-hunting expedition in 1590, Sir John Hawkins had resumed his onerous duties as Treasurer of the Navy. "I account myself most unhappy," he said, in a letter to Lord Burghley, on the 8th of July, 1592, "that it is my lot to follow so unpleasant a service as is the calling upon such excessive payments as do daily grow; for, if it had pleased God to have appointed me to have served her Majesty in any other calling, I am sure I should have made my service very acceptable to her Majesty, and ever stood in your Lordship's good liking and good opinion. But this endless and unsavoury occupation in calling for money is always unpleasant."* In spite, however, of the annoyance that he gave to the penurious Queen and the penurious Lord Treasurer by his demands for expenditure necessary to the maintenance of the navy in an efficient state, Hawkins was too good a servant to be dispensed with. Though considerably over seventy years of age, he continued in office till the autumn of 1595, when he entered on his last seafaring exploit, being chiefly driven thereto, apparently, by a desire to rescue his son if he was yet alive, or, if he was dead, to take vengeance on the Spaniards.

In this exploit Sir Francis Drake was his partner.

* BARROW, *Naval Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, p. 89.

Both men entered heartily into a project for winning fresh spoil from the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, which had been not only their own school in fighting seamanship, but also the beginning of England's private and public war with Spain, now more than twenty-five years old. Queen Elizabeth, we are told, readily acceded to the project, and more volunteers than they required clamoured for employment under the oldest veteran and the most daring hero in the English navy.

The project was talked of in the summer of 1594; but nothing was done till the following year. Then, after some months of zealous preparation, on the 28th of August, a fleet of twenty-seven ships, containing about twenty-five hundred men, left Plymouth. Of these ships, six were the Queen's: the *Defiance*, in which Drake went as Admiral; the *Garland*, under Hawkins as Vice-Admiral; the *Hope*; the *Bonaventure*; the *Foresight*; and the *Adventure*. Their mission was to do as much mischief, and seize as much treasure as they could in the Spanish Main.* The voyage was most luckless. The fleet proceeded to the Canaries, and there, in a warlike raid upon the principal island, resorted to in search of food, it only succeeded enough to take in a fresh supply of water. Thence crossing to the West Indies, it reached Guadaloupe on the 29th of September. Next day a straggling bark, the *Francis*,

* MAYNAERDE, *Sir Francis Drake his Voyage*, 1595 (Hakluyt Society, 1849), p. 41; MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., p. 159; BARROW, *Life of Drake*, pp. 386-391.

was captured by five Spanish ships, on their way to the Isthmus of Panama for the yearly cargo of treasure. Immediately after that, we are told, "Sir John Hawkins was extreme sick; which his sickness began upon news of the taking of the *Francis*."

That, indeed, had worse issue than the loss of the bark and its crew. The prisoners, being put to the torture, revealed the object of the English expedition, and thus in great measure spoilt it. When San Juan de Porto Rico was reached on the 12th of November, it was found to be well prepared for the attack which was intended to be made in secret. "We received from their plants and fortresses, where they planted ordnance," says the chronicler, "some twenty-eight great shot, the last of which struck the Admiral through the mizen, and the last but one struck through her quarter into the steerage, the General being there at supper, and struck the stool from under him, but hurt him not."

While Sir Francis Drake thus narrowly escaped death, Sir John Hawkins was dying. He had been ill for six weeks, and, though his illness was attributed to the loss of the *Francis*, we can easily suppose that it resulted from the unwonted fatigues and troubles of the work to which he had returned after many years of quieter occupation. His long, eventful, and most serviceable life, not least serviceable in those respects which were least admirable, came to an end on the evening of this 12th of November, 1595, when he was about seventy-five years old.

Sir Francis Drake only survived him by eleven weeks. After vainly attempting during a fortnight to capture Porto Rico, he passed on to Rio de la Hacha, which, after some parleying and treachery on the part of the inhabitants, he stormed and burnt wholly to the ground. He then sacked and burnt Santa Marta and several smaller towns on the way to Nombre de Dios. This he easily captured on the 27th of December, and here he halted with the fleet, while Sir Thomas Baskerville attempted to conduct seven hundred and fifty men across the Isthmus to Panama. Baskerville found the rough road and the opposition of the Spaniards too troublesome and returned, after eighty or ninety men had been lost.

The failure, coming after other failures, and after the death of his old friend, is reported to have broken Drake's heart. He and Hawkins had hoped so much from this enterprise; and every hope was being foiled. On the 15th of January "he began to keep his cabin, and to complain of a flux." Each day he became worse, and on the 27th of January he was almost too ill to move. Soon after midnight he started from his bed, talked incoherently, and attempted to dress himself. His friends led him back to his couch, and tried to comfort him. At four o'clock next morning, when hardly more than fifty years of age, he passed out of reach of all comfort, and of all discomfort.

In the Bay of Porto Bello, within sight of Nombre de Dios, where his prowess had been first largely displayed, his body, cased in a leaden coffin, was dropped into the

sea, while all the guns and all the muskets of his ships gave solemn echo to the solemn words of his burial.

"The waves became his winding-sheet, the waters were his tomb;
But for his fame the ocean sea was not sufficient room." *

So ran the shortest of a hundred poems written in his honour, when Baskerville, returning to England with the fleet, in May, 1596, after having had a tough fight with the Spaniards off Cartagena, made known to England the great loss it had sustained. The longest poem was a fulsome epic by Charles FitzGeoffrey, styled 'Sir Francis Drake; his Honourable Life's Commendation and his Tragical Death's Lamentation,'—a poem not so long and not so poetical as Lope de Vega's scurrilous 'Dragontea.' But Drake's character was nowhere better reflected than in the sonnet which he prefixed to a treatise written by his friend and rival in worth, though not in success, Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

"Who seeks by worthy deeds to gain renown for hire,
Whose heart, whose hand, whose purse is pressed to purchase his
 desire,
If any such there be that thirsteth after fame,
Lo, here a mean to win himself an everlasting name.
Who seeks by gain and wealth to advance his house and blood,
Whose care is great, whose toil no less, whose hope is all for good,
If any one there be that covets such a trade,
Lo, here the plot for common wealth and private gain is made.
He that for virtue's sake will venture far and near,
Whose zeal is strong, whose practice truth, whose faith is void of fear,

* PRINCE, *Worthies of Devon*. Most of the foregoing account of Drake's last expedition is condensed from MAYNARD. Drake's will is in *A Selection from the Wills of Eminent Persons, 1495-1695* (Camden Society, 1863), pp. 72-79.

If any such there be, enflamed with holy care,
Here may he find a ready mean his purpose to declare.
So that, for each degree, this treatise doth unfold
The path to fame, the proof of zeal, and way to purchase gold."

Drake was dead, and Hawkins was dead, and Frobisher was dead,—all three deaths occurring within a space of sixteen months. The old race of Elizabethan heroes on the sea was quickly dying out. But smaller men could carry on the work they had begun.

And there were great men yet alive,—none greater, in this respect, than Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh was not a seaman, but he had caught the spirit of English seamanship, and he was, especially, an excellent advocate of that patriotic resistance of Spain which gave schooling and life-work to nearly every English sailor. And he did more than advocate. While Drake and Hawkins were planning and executing, with such poor execution as sickness and death allowed to them, their last expedition, he was planning and executing a new and famous enterprise. In his Virginia he had tried to rob Spain of its exclusive possession of the wealth of the New World north of Darien. In his scheme for finding El Dorado he tried to rob Spain of its exclusive possession of the wealth of the New World in its southern districts.

This scheme had been growing in his mind for many years. He, like every other Englishman, had been attracted by the fables of the Golden City of Manoa and the Golden Lake of Parima. Columbus had started the fables, or at any rate had favoured the traditions out of which they grew. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had first been led by them in quest of the glittering

phantom, and Pizarro had in following it won the empire of Peru. Two generations of daring and blood-thirsty adventurers—Alfinger and Sailer, Nicholas Fedreman and Sebastian de Belalcazar, Hernan de Quesada and Philip von Hutten, Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre, Martin de Proveda and Pedro de Silva, Diego de Cerpa and Antonio de Berreo—had hunted the phantom from place to place until all the northern parts of South America had been brought under the dominion of Spain. Raleigh hoped that where others had failed he might succeed; and he knew that, whether there was failure or success, he could offer no greater insult and work no heavier injury to Spain than by planting the English standard in this most sacred scene of Spanish bigotry and tyranny, whence most of the gold employed by Philip in persecuting Netherlands and annoying Englishmen and troubling the whole of Christendom, his servile subjects being really the greatest sufferers of all, was being extracted with the help of cruelties that thrilled every honest looker-on with horror.

Therefore he went to Guiana in 1595, and sent Captain Laurence Keymis in 1596. The famous narrative of their achievements, however, need not here be detailed.* It is enough to notice their significance in connection with the great struggle that had been pro-

* I the more readily abstain from briefly noticing these exploits, which would need much fuller notice than my plan allows, as I see that two memoirs of Raleigh, both by competent writers, are forthcoming, in which readers who desire such information will be pretty sure to find it.

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year. Upon that Queen Elizabeth gave her hearty approval to a scheme that had been propounded earlier in the spring for a prompt and vigorous attack on Spain.

No time was wasted in the preparations. On the 3rd of June a fleet of nearly a hundred and fifty vessels sailed from Plymouth. Seventeen of these were Queen's ships; seventy-six were hired vessels and volunteers. The Netherlands contributed eighteen men-of-war and six store-ships. The rest were pinnaces, fly-boats, and other small craft. Lord Admiral Howard had the chief command at sea. The Earl of Essex, now at the height of his favour with the Queen, was commander-in-chief of the forces to be employed on land. Each of these had charge of a squadron, and two other squadrons were divided between Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh, while the Dutch contingent under Admiral Warmond formed a fifth squadron. The Dutch crews and soldiers numbered three thousand. From England there went a thousand gentlemen volunteers, about sixty-five hundred foot soldiers, and about as many sailors; the entire force being thus more than seventeen thousand strong.* This was the stoutest armament that had ever been sent out from England since the days of the Crusaders.

It reached Cadiz on Sunday, the 20th of June, and was anchored in the harbour in orderly way, to the

* MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., p. 160; HAKLITT, vol. i., p. 605; MOTLEY, vol. iii., p. 384; DEVEREUX, *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, vol. i., pp. 357, 358.

utter amazement both of the townspeople and of the vast number of ships collected under shelter of the fortress. On the following day, the 21st of June, there was a famous battle. Immediately after sunrise, the Spanish ships—consisting of four great galleons, of nearly thirty great war-ships, and of about sixty carracks and other trading-craft well armed—shifted their moorings and set themselves in order for the defence of the town. The English ships weighed anchor and proceeded to attack them. Fighting began soon after five o'clock, and was general from seven o'clock till one, by which time the Spanish force was utterly defeated. Several of their largest vessels fell into the hands of the English, to be ransacked and spoiled by them during the afternoon. The *San Felipe*, the greatest galleon that had been built, the pride and glory of the Spanish navy, was saved from capture by being blown up under its captain's orders. The train was badly laid, however, and before half its company of twelve hundred sailors and soldiers had had time to leave it the gunpowder exploded. "Tumbling into the sea," says Raleigh, "came heaps of soldiers, as thick as if coals had been poured out of a sack, in many parts at once, some drowned, and some sticking in the mud." "The spectacle was very lamentable," it was also said; "for many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leaped into the water; very many hanging by ropes' ends to the ship's sides, under water, even to the lips; many, swimming with grievous wounds, struck under water, and put out of their pain; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of

the ordnance in the great *Felipe*, and in the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see hell itself, it was there most vividly figured."

That disaster completed the victory of the English. The Spanish ships that were still able to fight made no further resistance. The forts of Cadiz ceased to ply their shot. The Earl of Essex, first to leap on shore, and three thousand soldiers who followed at his heels, pressed up to the market-place, and, fighting at every step, soon broke through all the ranks of men and the hasty barricades that they had constructed. Lord Howard afterwards came up with twelve hundred men and a fresh store of ammunition, and Essex, thus reinforced, then laid siege to the citadel, whither all the surviving soldiers and most of the townspeople had fled for safety. Before ten o'clock next morning it surrendered, and all carnage was stayed. There had been previously no more carnage than was necessary. "The mercy and clemency that hath been showed here, will be spoken of throughout the world," wrote Lord Howard, with proper pride, to the Queen's Council; "no aged or cold blood touched, no woman defiled; but all with great care embarked and sent to Saint Mary's Port, and other women and children were likewise sent thither, and suffered to carry away with them all their apparel, and divers rich things which they had about them, which no man might search for under pain of death." Even Philip II. was forced to admit that the world had never seen worthier proof of good soldiership, both at sea and on land, and of chivalrous humanity among

victors. The Dutch auxiliaries, it is said, remembering the cruelty and lust that the Spaniards had practised among their shattered towns and ruined homesteads, were inclined to retaliate; but the English hindered them. One man, found stealing a woman's gown, was sentenced by Essex to be hanged, and only pardoned at the suit of a Spanish ecclesiastic.

The English indeed were too merciful. They did only their duty in sparing the innocent, and resisting the lowest temptations of war; but, if it was right for them to go out against Spain at all, it was right for them to follow this conquest of Cadiz and spoliation of the immense shipping in its harbour, by such further wasting of the military and naval force of Spain as would lead to speedy and sure peace between the two nations. The Earl of Essex, chief hero in the work done on land, and sharer with Raleigh in the chief heroism of the sea-fighting, seems to have wished to do more. Lord Howard, however, was satisfied with the mischief that had already been done; and accordingly, after burying their dead, who were to be told by scores against the thousands of the Spaniards, the allied forces left Cadiz on the 4th of July. After some loitering in Spanish waters, Howard and the main body of the English fleet returned to Plymouth on the 8th of August. Essex, still anxious to do further work, lagged behind, to be taken charge of by the Dutch contingent, and brought to the Downs on the 10th of August.*

"If my pen," said Queen Elizabeth, in her letter of

* The above details are chiefly from DEVEREUX, vol. i., pp. 357-378.

thanks to Howard and Essex, "had as many tongues as the flock of its owner had feathers, they could never express the laud that my soul yieldeth to the Highest, for the great victory which His graceful hand hath given us, and that you, as His instruments, have so admirably, in so few hours, with such valour, order, and resolution, performed so great an action, of which sort, I suppose has not been seen a fellow. You have made me famous, dreadful, and renowned; not more for your victory than for your courage; nor more for either than for such plentiful liquor of mercy, which may well match the better of the two. Never was there heard in so few days so great a gain obtained; which, though I do attribute most to the forerunners, yet I charge you let the army know, both of sea and land, that I care not so much for being Queen, as that I am the sovereign of such subjects, that blast my fame with their worth."

Here our record of the achievements of English seamen under the the Tudors may close. A great fleet of a hundred and twenty ships went out next year, with the Earl of Essex for Admiral, Lord Thomas Howard for Vice-Admiral, and Sir Walter Raleigh for Rear-Admiral, to intercept the annual fleet of treasure ships coming to Spain from the Indies; but it failed therein, and was marked by little save splendid show and paltry quarrelling. In 1598 the Earl of Cumberland led out a fleet of twenty-three vessels with the same object, and, save in some fighting to which he resorted in the Spanish Main, with the same lack of memorable incident. Other expeditions, great and little, there were in abundance.

But the best that can be said of them is that they were pompous and futile efforts to carry on the work that had been begun by Hawkins and Drake. "In perusing them," says their first critic, "I find many accidents to have happened for want of tarpaulin commanders, or gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with maritime affairs. I find punctilios of honour oft insisted on by gentlemen, and the loss of many a good design, when, on the other hand, the tarpaulins observe no grandeur, but, like devils, count themselves most happy that can do most and soonest mischief to their enemies."*

The bluff, dare-devil seamen of the time of Elizabeth had passed, or were quickly passing away.† But not

* GIBSON, cited in the continuation of SOUTHEY, vol. v., pp. 205, 206.

† Lord Admiral Howard did no important naval work after his great expedition to Spain, in company with the Earl of Essex, in 1596. On the 22nd of October in that year he was made Earl of Nottingham. In 1599 was conferred on him the title of Lieutenant-General of all England, "an office," says CAMPBELL (vol. i., p. 399), "scarcely known to former, never owned of succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces." He retained his office of Lord High Admiral under James I., until 1620, when it was transferred to the Duke of Buckingham. He died at the age of eighty-seven, on the 14th of December, 1624. His cousin, Lord Thomas Howard, abandoned seamanship on becoming Earl of Suffolk. The Earl of Essex, as is well known, was executed two years after his last expedition of 1597. The Earl of Cumberland, the other high-born seaman, died in 1605. A new race of sailors had appeared during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, who were "tarpaulin commanders" almost as much as Drake and Hawkins; but their history belongs to the Stuart period. Sir William Monson was, perhaps, the ablest of them.

Ship-building continued till the end of Queen Elizabeth's rule. At the time of her death, in 1603, her navy consisted of forty-two ships, instead

before they had done their work. They had helped to save England from the great danger that had threatened it at the hands of ambitious Spain. They had punished Spain for all its wickednesses in America and in Europe. They had led the way to the establishment of a British Empire spreading all round the globe, a hundred times as great as Britain itself, through which were to be disseminated all those blessings of civilization and good government which they, in no small measure, helped to win for their mother country. They

of the thirty-four which met the Spanish Armada in 1588. The *Revenge*, famous for Sir Richard Grenville's employment of it in 1591, the *Vanguard*, the *Aid*, the *Bull*, and the galley *Bonavolio*, which appear in the list on page 217, had been lost or disabled in the course of the fifteen years. Accordingly there were fifteen new ones:—

Names of the Ships.	Tons.	Men.
The <i>Saint Matthew</i>	1,000	500
The <i>Saint Andrew</i>	900	400
The <i>Mer-Honneur</i>	800	400
The <i>Due Repulse</i>	700	350
The <i>Garland</i>	700	300
The <i>Warsprite</i>	600	300
The <i>Defiance</i>	500	250
The <i>Tide</i>	250	120
The <i>Adventure</i>	250	120
The <i>Crane</i>	200	100
The <i>Quittance</i>	200	100
The <i>Answer</i>	200	100
The <i>Advantage</i>	200	100

MONSON, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii., p. 188.

were not perfect men ; but they were heroes. To understand the men themselves, we must measure them by the standards of their own times. To understand the good work that they did, and the better work that issued from their doings, we must compare the England of to-day with the England which, under the Tudors, tore off the shackles of feudalism, loosened the bondage of priestcraft, and began to be a nation of free men.

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